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ABSTRACT

This document is the record from a U.S. Congress oversight hearing on the Department of Education's refusal to fund a program to teach students about the Holocaust. The program, "Facing History and Ourselves," applied for federal funding to the Department of Education's National Diffusion Network (NDN), an organization intended to disseminate information about successful school programs. "Facing History" was the only Holocaust curriculum in the country eligible for funding by the NDN. The curriculum was denied funding by the NDN in 1986 and 1987. In its 1988 denial of funding, the peer reviewer for the NDN cited an imbalance in the program's presentation of two viewpoints, the Nazi viewpoint and the Ku Klux Klan's, as a critical factor in the decision not to fund the program. The testimony of Department of Education officials as to the circumstances surrounding the denial of funding to "Facing History" along with the testimony of several persons in support of the program form the body of the document. Appendices include materials referred to in the record as well as statements submitted for the record. (DB)

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DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION'S REFUSAL TO FUND HOLOCAUST CURRICULUM

ED320787

HEARING

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDREDTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

OCTOBER 19, 1988

Printed for the use of the Committee on Government Operations

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DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION'S REFUSAL TO FUND HOLOCAUST CURRICULUM

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1988

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
HUMAN RESOURCES AND
INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE
OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:35 a.m., in room 2154, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Ted Weiss (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Ted Weiss, Jim Lightfoot, and Donald E. "Buz" Lukens.

Also present: Representatives Sidney R. Yates and Barney Frank.

Staff present: James R. Gottlieb, staff director; Marc Smolonsky, professional staff member; Gwendolyn S. McFadden, secretary; and Mary Vihstadt, minority professional staff, Committee on Government Operations.

OPENING STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN WEISS

Mr. WEISS. Good morning. The Subcommittee on Human Resources and Intergovernmental Relations is now in session.

Today the subcommittee will conduct an oversight hearing on the Department of Education's refusal to fund a program to teach American students about the Holocaust.

The program, called Facing History and Ourselves, was denied funding by the Department, partly on the basis of a review which reached the unthinkable conclusion that "the Nazi point of view, however unpopular, is still a point of view and is not presented, nor is that of the Ku Klux Klan."

The Department's $20 million National Diffusion Network is intended to fund efforts to disseminate information about successful school programs. Facing History has been extremely effective, having already been taught by thousands of teachers. It also happens to be the only Holocaust curriculum in the country eligible for funding by the National Diffusion Network.

The Department's actions against Facing History suggest an institutional bias against teaching American children about the Holocaust. In 1986 and 1987, peer reviews of the program conducted by outside readers hired by the Department rejected Facing History's application because it did not reflect the Nazi point of view, or be-

cause the program was considered anti-Christian. These criticisms were accepted by some Department officials.

Earlier this year, when less ideological reviewers were brought in to examine the Facing History program, it received high marks in its category—history, geography and civics. But that still did not prevent the Department from killing the application. The Department simply eliminated the entire category from funding consideration.

I believe this chain of events demonstrates that the denial of funds for the Holocaust project was not the work of a single person and was not an isolated incident. It was an act that had to be condoned by the highest officials of the Department.

This issue has a special meaning to me. Along with my mother and sister, I emigrated to the United States, arriving on March 12, 1938. As our ship steamed its way to New York Harbor, Hitler was consolidating his power. The day before we arrived in New York—March 11, 1938—was the day of the Anschluss, when Hitler triumphantly marched into Austria to be welcomed by the Austrian population as the celebration of the union between Austria and Germany.

I escaped the Holocaust, but others in my family were not so fortunate. My grandparents on both sides and countless uncles, aunts, cousins, and other relatives did not survive Hitler's final solution for European Jews, nor did 6 million other Jews and countless numbers of other people.

We are conducting this hearing today to make a permanent record of what has been going on at the Department of Education for the past 3 years, just as we memorialize the Holocaust, so that we may never forget.

I should note this is not really a matter for partisan political concern or effort. I had the privilege of attending the Holocaust Memorial, a cornerstone dedication, about 10 days ago, where President Reagan spoke eloquently, and he said, among other things, "I think all of us here are aware of those, even among our own countrymen, who have dedicated themselves to the disgusting task of minimizing or even denying the truth of the Holocaust."

We have a letter from Mr. Hyman Bookbinder, who tells me during the last 7 years he learned how Kitty and Mike Dukakis feel about our children learning the meaning of the Holocaust. This is a broad, bipartisan, congressional concern, not one for partisan political advantage.

[The letter referred to is in app. 1, p. 105.]

Mr. WEISS. We will be hearing from the director of Facing History of the National Dissemination Study Group, and the professor of the Holocaust and theology at Georgetown University. Before we proceed to the witnesses, I am going to call on some of our distinguished members and we will have a brief, 10-minute tape which will explain what the program "Facing History and Ourselves" is all about.

I am pleased to indicate that we have with us one of our most senior and distinguished Members in Congress, Mr. Sidney Yates of Illinois.

Welcome, Mr. Yates.

I am pleased now to call on our distinguished ranking minority member, Mr. Lightfoot.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I appreciate the opportunity to explore in greater detail the operations of the Department of Education. It is my understanding that today's hearing will focus on the National Diffusion Network and the reasons why the grant application for "Facing History and Ourselves" was not recently funded by the Department under this program.

As someone who is unfamiliar with both the National Diffusion Network, other than what I read in a Washington Post article, I look forward to learning more about the process.

I do have concerns about the appearance of anti-Semitism, as it relates to Facing History. There should be no place in the Federal Government, including the Department of Education, for religious bigotry of any kind.

I welcome the witnesses at this time, and I look forward to hearing about this program, Facing History, and the National Diffusion Network.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you.

Mr. Lukens, do you have an opening comment you would like to make?

Mr. LUKENS. No, sir.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you very much.

If we can have the tape, we will start with that.

[Video tape was shown.]

Mr. WEISS. Let me take note also, that we have been joined by another of our distinguished members, Mr. Barney Frank.

From time to time as the morning proceeds, I think there will be other members who will be coming by as well.

Our first witnesses will be from the Department of Education, and that first panel will be comprised of Dr. Bruno Manno, Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary for Operations, U.S. Department of Education; Dr. Milton Goldberg, Director of Programs for the Improvement of Practice, U.S. Department of Education; Dr. Shirley Curry, former Director of the Recognition Division, U.S. Department of Education.

Let me at the outset indicate how much we appreciate the fact that you all were able to come on such short notice. As you know, Congress is in its very last days. We will be hopefully completing our work sometime this week. So there is no other time except this week to hold the hearing. So we appreciate being able to adjust your schedule to ours.

It is the practice of this subcommittee and indeed the Government Operations Committee to have all of its witnesses sworn in. So, before we commence, if you would please stand.

Do you affirm that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Let the record indicate that each of the witnesses responded in the affirmative.

Dr. Manno, I think we will begin with your testimony.

STATEMENT OF BRUNO MANNO, PH.D., ACTING DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR OPERATIONS, OFFICE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND IMPROVEMENT, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Dr. MANNO. Thank you.

I have a very brief statement I would like to read, sir.

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, my name is Bruno Manno. You have already heard of the others who are here with me, Milton Goldberg on my left and Shirley Curry on my right.

Let me briefly state, the National Diffusion Network is a school improvement program that identifies and disseminates information about education programs that work. In order for a program to be part of the network, the program must be reviewed by a program effectiveness panel. In addition to this, projects which are part of the NDN can compete for developer-demonstrator grants. These grants provide funds for training, revising materials and followup assistance to schools using the program.

There are two points I wish to make. First, Facing History was first approved for inclusion in the National Diffusion Network on December 5, 1980, and has been part of the NDN ever since then. According to the information that we have, Facing History was used during the school year 1986–87, by 243 public schools and 24 private schools. In addition, 604 teachers and administrators were trained and over 20,000 students were taught using the Facing History material.

My second point: The Department has never, and I state this unequivocally, denied the application of Facing History, based on the program's alleged bias to Christians, nor has the program been denied because it did not include the Nazi point of view, as your press release contends.

Since Secretary Cavazos could not be here today, he asked me to read his statement, which he would like to have included in the record, and I would like to do so without your objection.

Mr. WEISS. Without objection.

Dr. MANNO. Dated October 19, 1988, statement by Secretary CAVAZOS:

Questions have been raised in the media and elsewhere concerning the operation of the Department of Education's peer review process in connection with the National Diffusion Network. Stories in the press have alleged that the Department's peer review process did not operate properly in connection with the "Facing History and Ourselves" program that was under consideration for NDN funding earlier this year.

I want to assure this subcommittee that I am a strong believer in the peer review process, and will take whatever steps are necessary to ensure its proper functioning at the Department.

It has been my good fortune to have served as a peer reviewer for programs funded by the National Library of Medicine. My experience there has convinced me that a strong peer review process ensures integrity and objectivity in the Government's grant-making process.

While the decision to fund projects in the history, geography and civics category occurred before my confirmation as Secretary of Education, in light of the allegations surrounding the NDN funding decisions earlier this year, I am reviewing the process. I intend to take all possible steps to ensure that future peer reviews are conducted in accordance with congressional intent.

I do want to assure this subcommittee that allegations of anti-Semitism in the funding decision concerning "Facing History and Ourselves" are unfounded.

Finally, Dr. Curry has a very short statement that she would like to read into the record. With your permission, she will do so.

Mr. WEISS. Please proceed, Dr. Curry.

STATEMENT OF SHIRLEY CURRY, ED.D., FORMER DIRECTOR, NATIONAL DIFFUSION RECOGNITION DIVISION, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Dr. CURRY. Good day, Congressman Weiss and fellow committee members. My name is Shirley Curry, former Director of the National Diffusion Recognition Division for the U.S. Department of Education. I am very pleased to have this opportunity to testify.

To begin, I want to solemnly affirm that the published innuendo in the Washington Post article on October 4, the very eve of President Reagan's laying the cornerstone for the Holocaust Memorial Museum, that somehow the Department in general and I in particular have operated from some anti-Semitic mode in not granting funds to the National Diffusion Network program "Facing History and Ourselves" is absolutely absurd.

I personally believe that current and future generations should know about this unspeakable tragedy, the Holocaust, and every effort should be taken to see that it never happens again.

While it is true to understand and appreciate our republic form of government, other systems of government should also be studied, I do not feel such atrocious regimes as the Nazi Party and its philosophy should be presented to students or adults either, for that matter, in a sympathetic light.

To further document my genuine dedication to assuring that the sensitive subject of the Holocaust has its proper place in our schools, I have actively encouraged the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council to become part of the National Diffusion Network. A member of my NDN staff was working to help ready Holocaust programs for inclusion in the NDN as early as the spring of 1986. Interested personnel were invited to an orientation and training workshop on how to prepare the Joint Dissemination Review Panel submittal in May 1986.

I sincerely agree with your statement, Congressman Weiss, in your October 5 correspondence to the Secretary: "There must be no room in the Department for the grotesque opinion." I assure you and other members of the committee, recommendations and decisions were not "influenced by such heinous thought."

Thank you very much.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you very much, Dr. Curry, Dr. Manno.

Dr. Goldberg, I understand you do not have a prepared statement, but that you would be willing to respond to questions put to you?

STATEMENT OF MILTON GOLDBERG, ED.D., DIRECTOR, PROGRAMS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF PRACTICE, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Dr. GOLDBERG. Certainly.

Mr. WEISS. Let me start off by asking you some questions, Dr. Goldberg.

You are the Director of Programs for the Improvement of Practice; did your responsibilities include supervision of the Recognition Division?

Dr. GOLDBERG. That is correct.

Mr. WEISS. What are the responsibilities of the Recognition Division?

Dr. GOLDBERG. There are two major programs in the Recognition Division. One is called the School Recognition Program, a program which identifies exemplary schools around the country and provides them with the recognition from the Department and then disseminates information about what kind of schools those are.

The second program is the National Diffusion Network, which is, as Dr. Manno described, a program which identifies good programs in the schools and makes information about those programs available to other people.

Mr. WEISS. How long have you been with the Department?

Dr. GOLDBERG. I have been with the Department since 1976.

Mr. WEISS. And when was the National Diffusion Network established?

Dr. GOLDBERG. In the mid-1970's. Some time before then, I believe about 1974.

Mr. WEISS. Now, when the Network was set up, did the Department review applications on the basis of the programs effectiveness?

Dr. GOLDBERG. Yes. The Department has always reviewed the programs for inclusion in the Network on the basis of data produced by the program, data about its effectiveness in achieving its outcomes.

Mr. WEISS. And at that time, when it was first established, did the Department review applications for content?

Dr. GOLDBERG. No; not to my knowledge.

Mr. WEISS. Did there come a time when the Department began measuring the content of the program material, and when was that?

Dr. GOLDBERG. In 1986 and 1987, there were efforts made to include content as a criterion for funding in the program. There were regulations drawn for which public content was welcomed.

There was an attempt to create something called the Program Significance Panel, which would look at a variety of criteria related to the content of the program.

Mr. WEISS. And when the Program Significance Panel was created, what was your reaction?

Dr. GOLDBERG. I had some misgivings about some of the characteristics of the Program Significance Panel.

I have always reviewed—thought there are some issues related to our dissemination of programs that might be useful for the public to know. One of the obvious examples for me as a former school principal and teacher is age appropriateness.

I have always felt that that is useful information for teachers and principals to have.

Mr. WEISS. And did you indicate at that time that you would no longer sign off on program applications?

Dr. GOLDBERG. No, no; not in general. I had not signed off on this particular application, but, in general, I sign off on other programs.

Mr. WEISS. When Facing History and Ourselves category, history, geography, and civics was eliminated, Dr. Curry, from funding competition this year, did Assistant Secretary Chester Finn tell you he would go to the Secretary's Chief of Staff, Mr. William Kristol, to express concerns about the category?

Dr. GOLDBERG. Yes.

Mr. WEISS. Did such a meeting take place, do you know?

Dr. GOLDBERG. As far as I know.

Mr. WEISS. All right.

After that meeting, was it Dr. Curry's decision to deny funding to the entire category of history, geography, and civics approved?

Dr. GOLDBERG. Yes, the Assistant Secretary followed her recommendations.

Mr. WEISS. When the entire categories were eliminated from funding in the past, it was because most of the programs in the category were rated low; is that correct?

Dr. GOLDBERG. That is right.

Mr. WEISS. Now, was that the case with this situation?

Dr. GOLDBERG. No. I should add one more thing.

Sometimes categories were not funded for some other reasons, including the fact that there might have already been a number of programs in the Network in that category, or there had been programs funded the previous year in that category.

The answer to your question is, in this case, this was a program that was fairly highly rated. Although there were a lot of highly rated proposals this past year, Facing History was rated about an 89.

Mr. WEISS. Dr. Manno, you were Dr. Finn's Chief of Staff at that time; is that correct?

Dr. MANNO. That is correct.

Mr. WEISS. Can you tell us what your involvement with the Facing History project was?

Dr. MANNO. My involvement was similar to my involvement with all the other procurements that make their way through OERI to the Assistant Secretary. The staff that I have was responsible for checking a number of different things before a final document got to the Assistant Secretary for approval.

We would check to make sure that the budget figures were accurate on the material that was submitted. We would check to make sure that, in general, the competitions were held according to the regulations that were published for the competition, et cetera.

Mr. WEISS. Did you have a conversation with Dr. Finn about his meeting with Dr. Kristol about termination of the category?

Dr. MANNO. No; I did not have a meeting with Dr. Finn.

Mr. WEISS. Were you aware of the termination of the category of history, geography, and civics?

Dr. MANNO. Yes.

Mr. WEISS. Whom did you discuss it with?

Dr. MANNO. Just Dr. Finn.

Mr. WEISS. Tell us about the nature of that discussion?

Dr. MANNO. The discussion was very short and to the point. The point was made by Dr. Finn that a decision had been made to eliminate that category.

Mr. WEISS. What was the basis for it? What did he tell you was the basis for eliminating that category?

Dr. MANNO. He really didn't go into any detail.

Mr. WEISS. Did you have any understanding from other sources as to why that category was eliminated?

Dr. MANNO. No, I didn't.

Mr. WEISS. Did you ask anybody as to why it was eliminated?

Dr. MANNO. No. The elimination of the category was not an unusual event. In the past, categories had been eliminated.

It was not unusual that a category had been eliminated for funding.

Mr. WEISS. You saw nothing unusual in this category being eliminated?

Dr. MANNO. The category history; I did think it was a bit unusual.

Mr. WEISS. And did you convey your thought that it was unusual to anybody?

Dr. MANNO. Yes.

Mr. WEISS. To whom?

Dr. MANNO. I had a brief discussion about this as part of that conversation with Dr. Finn.

Mr. WEISS. What did you say to him and what did he say to you?

Dr. MANNO. I don't recall the exact words, but something to the effect that this seemed a bit unusual, and his response was, yes, it was unusual.

Mr. WEISS. That was it?

Dr. MANNO. That was basically it.

Mr. WEISS. Did you discuss anything at that time about the prior applications that had been made?

Dr. MANNO. Not at all.

Mr. WEISS. For approval?

Dr. MANNO. No.

Mr. WEISS. Were you told that Phyllis Schlafly opposed the program?

Dr. MANNO. Was I told that? No, not by Dr. Finn.

Mr. WEISS. By anybody?

Dr. MANNO. I was not told that by anybody. But it was generally something that was known going as far back, if I recall correctly, to the hearings that were held up on the Hill concerning the Hatch amendment.

Mr. WEISS. Go into that in greater detail.

Dr. MANNO. I really don't know much of the details connected with it. I just picked that up in the course of general discussions that occurred on the question of Facing History.

Mr. WEISS. Did Ms. Schlafly write a letter to William Kristol, who was the Special Assistant to the Secretary of Education, expressing her opposition to the program?

Dr. MANNO. I was told that she did. I, in fact, have never seen a letter.

I read that she wrote one, but I never saw a copy of that letter.

Mr. WEISS. We will introduce into the record at this time, without objection, a letter from Phyllis Schlafly, dated August 13, 1987, to Mr. William Kristol, Chief of Staff, Counselor, U.S. Department of Education, expressing her opposition to Facing History and Ourselves.

[The information follows:]

2

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August 13, 1987

Mr. William Kristol
Chief of Staff/Counselor
U.S. Department of Education
400 Maryland Ave., S.W., Room 4181
Washington, DC 20202

Dear Mr. Kristol:

I just read in the August 4 issue of Education Week that there is some kind of dispute going on about a curriculum called Facing History and Ourselves" and whether or not it should receive National Diffusion Network recognition and/or federal funding. Although the article mentioned my name and that of Eagle Forum, I was not interviewed for the article.

I would like, however, to make our position clear on this matter. Our opposition has nothing to do with the subject matter or the ideology of the curriculum. We certainly believe that the Holocaust is an important fact of history that must be taught if history is to be accurate and factual -- and that it must be taught sympathetically to the victims.

Our opposition is based on the adverse, negative and offensive psychological effects of the course as revealed by those who taught, took, and evaluated the course. I emphasize that NONE of my information was taken from those who are critical of the curriculum. ALL my information is from supporters of the curriculum.

I am sure that the authors were well-intentioned and probably did not forsee the negative effects of this course on minor children. But the adverse effects are so well-documented that it would be an embarrassment to the U.S. Department of Education if it promoted or funded this curriculum in the face of the massive evidence that this course is detrimental to students.

Psychological manipulation (colloquially known as group therapy in the classroom by unlicensed psychologists) was the reason for the Protection of Pupil Rights Amendment, passed by Congress in 1978, for which regulations were issued in 1984. Facing History and Ourselves would certainly come under the purview of this statute and require parental consent before use by schoolchildren if it is federally funded. I believe it would be hard for the Department of Education to justify funding this curriculum, after its negative effects are so well known, and when there are so many good curricula available.

Documentation for the above statements is contained in a journal called Moral Education Forum published by Hunter College, City University of New York, in the Summer of 1981. The authors of this journal were obviously friendly to Facing History and Ourselves -- so please note that I am not quoting from a critic of the curriculum but from its friends. Children who studied Facing History and Ourselves were required to write "journals" recording their feelings after taking the lessons. One need only to read the statements of the students who studied the curriculum to understand its negative effects. Here are some of the words of the students, as proudly recorded and published in Moral Education Forum:

(1) "I have learned that there is seldom a right or wrong but rather a right or left." (p. 34)

(2) "I feel as though something I have had all my life has been taken away from me, something that can never be totally restored. I almost feel that I need it back because I feel so awful without it.... We all, in our struggling humanity, have to clutch to our eyeballs to keep out the cold light of despair." (p. 28)

(3) "What I did learn will probably change the way I think and look on life for the rest of my life." (p. 13)

More documentation is contained in the February 1981 issue of a publication called Independent School. Here I quote again directly from student journals:

(4) "I'm conscious of having changed in the strength of my convictions on many of the ethical dilemmas we've confronted. But in other ways I'm less sure of myself and more introspective. Where do I draw the line between right and wrong?" (p. 20)

Another favorable evaluation was made by Elisabeth H. Colt and Fanny A. Connelly in the summer of 1980. Again I quote directly from the report or journals of students who took the Facing History and Ourselves course:

(5) "The most meaningful parts of the book to me were when the boy stopped believing in God, and when the father was dying. I think that maybe my faith is waning, a little, just from reading about it. Unfortunately, this book will always be tucked in my memory." (p. 66)

(6) "We posed questions that had no right or wrong answers and I became more and more confused as to how I stood on several issues." (p. 98)

(7) "Even in this seemingly perfect country we are cruel. We are hateful. We are obsessed with ourselves." (p. 72)

I also call to your attention some comments in the Project Evaluation by Professor Marcus Lieberman of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, as quoted in Moral Education Forum (cited above):

(8) "The changes the program expects to bring about in students are complex.... Furthermore, the effect of the program on students may not become apparent until considerable time after the completion of the unit." (p. 36)

Professor Lieberman calls the curriculum "experimental" and "controversial." He states that the purpose of the program was to make "changes in the students' moral, ego and social development."

(9) He admits that the junior high school students who studied the curriculum "complained bitterly about the difficulty in answering the questions..." and that they had an "emotional response to what students perceived as a high level of abuse..." (p. 36)

(10) Another evaluator, Betty Bardige, stated that students studying this curriculum were regularly "asked to keep journals in which they record their thoughts and feelings after each class. The journals are one of the most important parts of the students' response to the curriculum." (p. 42)

Such psychological manipulation, induced behavioral change, and privacy-invading treatment are unacceptable in federally-funded or federally-approved curricula. They are what brought about the Protection of Pupil Rights Amendment (both the statute in 1978 and the regulations in 1984). Americans do not appreciate having their children treated like guinea pigs in the classroom.

In sum, I believe it would be most unfortunate if schools across the nation are permitted to believe that the Federal Government is sponsoring such a manipulative course in the public schools. Let's get back to "basic skills" and "what works."

Sincerely,

Phyllis Schlafly

Mr. WEISS. It goes on for some 2½ pages.
You had never seen that letter?
Dr. MANNO. I really have not.
Mr. WEISS. Did you ever discuss that letter with anyone?
Dr. MANNO. No, I didn't.
Mr. WEISS. Dr. Curry, did you ever have any conversation or communication from Ms. Schlafly about this program?
Dr. CURRY. I had a conversation with her, yes.
Mr. WEISS. When did you have that conversation?
Dr. CURRY. Sir, I couldn't tell you.
Mr. WEISS. How long have you held the position that you held at the time you had this responsibility?
Dr. CURRY. Excuse me?
Mr. WEISS. How long were you in the Department of Education?
Dr. CURRY. I have been in the Department of Education since January 1986.
Mr. WEISS. And so you had a conversation with Ms. Schlafly subsequent to January 1986; is that correct? Did you have a conversation with Ms. Schlafly about this program Facing History and Ourselves during the course of 1988?
Dr. CURRY. I had several conversations with Ms. Schlafly and with a lot of people about the programs.
Mr. WEISS. When was the last conversation that you had with Ms. Schlafly?
Dr. CURRY. I don't know, sir.
Mr. WEISS. Do you have records which could tell you when you had your last conversation with Ms. Schlafly on this program?
Dr. CURRY. No, sir.
Mr. WEISS. Do you keep records?
Dr. CURRY. No, sir.
Mr. WEISS. Let me finish my question.
Do you keep diary records of people with whom you have meetings or conversations?
Dr. CURRY. No, sir.
Mr. WEISS. So that if you meet with 50 people during August 1988, there would be no record at all in your diary or your files as to whom you met with during August 1988?
Dr. CURRY. Nothing more than what is on my calendar.
Mr. WEISS. Well, then, let me ask you, would your calendar tell you when you had conversations with Ms. Schlafly?
Dr. CURRY. No. Because her name is not on my calendar.
Mr. WEISS. OK.
Tell us, if you can remember the substance of the conversation that you had with Ms. Schlafly about the program Facing History and Ourselves.
Dr. CURRY. Ms. Schlafly's opposition to the program is well stated in that letter.
Mr. WEISS. Did you agree or disagree——
Mr. FRANK. Pull the microphone closer to you.
Dr. CURRY. I want you to hear what I have to say.
Mr. FRANK. Pull it closer.
Dr. CURRY. It helps to turn it on.
Mr. WEISS. Do you recall the substance of the conversations that you had with Ms. Schlafly concerning this program?

Dr. CURRY. No, except that I knew that she had objections to the program.

Mr. WEISS. What did you tell her about your view of the program?

Dr. CURRY. My view of the program is that it is inappropriate for the age group which it is addressing. That is the only conversation that we have had about that.

Mr. WEISS. Which age group is that?

Dr. CURRY. According to the JDRP application, this program is approved for teaching eighth and ninth graders. And according to noted Holocaust educators with whom I have discussed, and if you don't mind, I will just get this correct, I have been advised by distinguished Holocaust scholars and educators that the type of program that is presented in Facing History is far too intensive for presentation to junior high students.

Such material, they claim, should not generally be presented before the 11th grade with such intensity, and great care should be given as to who teaches Facing History. And, of course, it is only approved to be taught in the eighth and ninth grades.

Mr. WEISS. Who are these distinguished experts on the Holocaust who made that statement?

Dr. CURRY. Dr. Irene Shur, professor of history, West Chester University, forerunner and teacher in Holocaust education, who produced training units on the subject and founded the National Association for Holocaust Education.

Mr. WEISS. You were just quoting her?

Dr. CURRY. Excuse me?

Mr. WEISS. And do you have any other experts that you can refer to?

Dr. CURRY. I have discussed the subject with her cohort, Dr. Franklin Litrell.

Mr. WEISS. Do you have a statement from her cohort?

Dr. CURRY. No, I have no statement. I just discussed it with him.

Mr. WEISS. When did that discussion take place?

Dr. CURRY. Yesterday, I guess. He called me for lunch.

Mr. WEISS. And when did you have a conversation with Dr. Shur?

Dr. CURRY. The last conversation I have had with her?

Mr. WEISS. Yes.

Dr. CURRY. It has been this week.

Mr. WEISS. When was the first conversation you had with her?

Dr. CURRY. The first conversation I had with Dr. Shur—I will have to think on that. It was in 1986.

Mr. WEISS. How many conversations in all have you had with her?

Dr. CURRY. Oh, sir, I couldn't tell.

Mr. WEISS. More than those two?

Dr. CURRY. Oh, yes.

Mr. WEISS. You were the Director of the Recognition Division at the time that Facing History was an applicant for funding, is that right?

Dr. CURRY. That is true. Let me point out one thing on that subject, that when this program was approved, in 1980, quoting from the JDRP minutes, it says, "In approving this submission, the

panel recommended that the developer keep the JDRP informed from time to time of later findings in order to show the programs adaptability, including harmful effects."

That is the primary concern.

Mr. WEISS. And did you, in fact, ask the program to inform you who suffered harmful effects?

Dr. CURRY. No.

Mr. WEISS. Now, do you still hold the position as Director of the Recognition Division?

Dr. CURRY. No.

Mr. WEISS. When did you leave that position?

Dr. CURRY. Friday.

Mr. WEISS. What were the circumstances——

Dr. MANNO. Sir, I might be able to shed a little light on that.

Mr. WEISS. Dr. Manno, if I need your assistance, I will ask for it. Dr. Curry, when did you leave the position?

Dr. CURRY. On Friday.

Mr. WEISS. What were the circumstances of your leaving the position?

Dr. CURRY. I was asked to go over and work in the Office of Management.

Mr. WEISS. The Office of Management of the Department of Education?

Dr. CURRY. Department of Education, yes.

Mr. WEISS. You were relieved of your responsibilities as head of the Recognition Division, is that correct?

Dr. CURRY. That is true.

Mr. WEISS. Dr. Manno, do you want to expand on that?

Dr. MANNO. The only point I was going to make was that on Friday, I told Shirley that effective Friday, she would be relieved of her duties as Director of the Recognition Division, and effective this past Monday she was to report to the Deputy Under Secretary for Management and await further instructions as to what her duties in the Department would be. She was relieved of all her program duties effective this past Friday.

Mr. WEISS. What was the reason for relieving Dr. Curry of her responsibilities?

Dr. MANNO. It is very much related to one of the points that the Secretary made in his statement I read into the record. Namely, the Secretary has undertaken a review of the process related to the funding of Facing History. It was the opinion of those in the Department involved in this review that the best thing we could do would be relieve Dr. Curry of her duties while this investigation was underway.

Mr. WEISS. All right. And it is possible she may be returned to that position sometime in the future, is that correct?

Dr. MANNO. In fact, several months ago, Dr. Curry let it be known that she was intending to submit her resignation, certainly no later than November or December of this year. So the discussion of who would in fact at some point take over the Recognition Division is a discussion that has been going on sometime.

Mr. WEISS. So that——

Dr. CURRY. May I address the question here, too?

I feel like a rabbit in a brier patch because for a year I have asked to be assigned somewhere else. I am here as a Presidential appointee, and I wanted experiences around the Department. I had talked with senior personnel about being transferred many times.

So I am not the least bit upset about being transferred over to the Office of Management. It will give me a chance to know how the rest of the Department works. I know how OERI works. I am here for a little while and the more I can learn about how the Department works, the better I like it.

I am not upset. If I stay where I am, that is fine. If I am transferred back, that is fine.

Mr. WEISS. OK. Since you are not happy or not unhappy and the Secretary is not unhappy about the situation, let me go back to a discussion of your responsibilities while you were the head of the Recognition Division.

According to the Education Department's official description of the division, I am quoting, "The division is responsible for establishing processes for identifying and selecting outstanding and noteworthy individuals, educational programs and practices in schools, providing national recognition for their achievements in education, and using these resources in a variety of ways to assist others seeking improvement in the quality of education, the division of ministers, secretary of school recognition programs in the National Diffusion Network."

That is an accurate description, is it not?

Dr. CURRY. That is accurate.

Mr. WEISS. According to the Department's official job description, the director of the Recognition Division must be "recognized both within the agency and by leading figures in the scientific community as a nationally recognized authority."

Now, when you took the job, Dr. Curry, had you authored any books at that time?

Dr. CURRY. Excuse me?

Mr. WEISS. At the time that you took the position of head of the Recognition Division, which required people who were nationally recognized authorities, were you a recognized author? Had you authored any books at that point?

Dr. CURRY. I have authored no books.

Mr. WEISS. What research had you published at the time you took this position?

Dr. CURRY. I have published no research. However, sir, I have a master's degree in statistics and a doctorate from Vanderbilt, with emphasis in teacher evaluation.

Mr. WEISS. And you think that qualifies you as a leading national authority, is that correct?

Dr. CURRY. That and the fact that I have been active in schoolrooms for 13 years. They felt that I had the qualifications to know what goes on in a schoolroom and what makes up a good program. And I have the statistical background to work in the Office of Research and Improvement.

Mr. WEISS. Before joining the Department, you were the director of job training for high school students in Wayne County, TN, is that correct?

Dr. CURRY. That is correct.

Mr. WEISS. Prior to that, you were the office manager for Volunteer Insulation, Inc., is that correct?

Dr. CURRY. That is correct.

Mr. WEISS. That company did what?

Dr. CURRY. We did insulation.

Mr. WEISS. Of storm windows?

Dr. CURRY. Excuse me?

Mr. WEISS. Insulation of what?

Dr. CURRY. Blowing in insulation, fiberglass insulation in attics.

Mr. WEISS. You worked 1 month in 1982 as a consultant for women's programs at the Education Department.

Dr. CURRY. That is right.

Mr. WEISS. You have a doctorate in education, correct?

Dr. CURRY. True.

Mr. WEISS. Were applications to the National Diffusion Network submitted for peer review by the Department?

Dr. CURRY. Excuse me?

Mr. WEISS. Were applications for the National Diffusion Network submitted for peer review by the Department?

Dr. CURRY. Did people submit applications to the Department for the National Diffusion Network?

Mr. WEISS. Were applications to the National Diffusion Network submitted for peer review by the Department?

Dr. CURRY. Sure. Our applications go out for peer review, yes.

Mr. WEISS. Were you responsible for approving the people who reviewed the applications?

Dr. CURRY. I am glad you asked me that, Congressman. Yes, I am responsible for gathering peer reviewers. I would like you to know that the three programs that we run require over 400 peer reviewers, non-Federal persons, annually. And I get resumes from everywhere. I practically collect them off the street to come up with 400 non-Federal people to do work for us for which we do not pay them.

Mr. WEISS. So it is your responsibility, is that correct?

Dr. CURRY. That is right, part of my responsibility, to gather the resumes.

Mr. WEISS. Facing History and Ourselves, an educational program about the Holocaust, first applied for funding from the Department, other than for the seed funding grant in 1980, in 1986, is that correct?

Dr. CURRY. According to our records, it did apply, and—let me see. I think it was in 1982, the first time. Just 1 minute. June, competition, 1982, when it first applied.

Mr. WEISS. What happened to that application?

Dr. CURRY. That application received a score of 57 and was denied funding.

I have to point out that was prior to my being there.

Mr. WEISS. Right. And then in 1986, there was an application.

Dr. CURRY. There was an application in 1986, correct.

Mr. WEISS. One of the people reviewing that application was a person named Christina Price. Did you approve her selection as a reviewer?

Dr. CURRY. I approved all the selections of the reviewers.

Mr. WEISS. On December 4, 1986—without objection, we will enter the review into the record—Dr. Price submitted her review of Facing History, and it stated in the last paragraph, "The program gives no evidence of balance or objectivity. The Nazi point of view however, unpopular is still a point of view, and it is not presented; nor is that of the Ku Klux Klan."

Have you seen these comments before?

[The review referred to follows:]

Application No: _____

TECHNICAL REVIEW INSTRUMENT FOR DEVELOPER DEMONSTRATOR PROJECTS (DDs)
NATIONAL DIFFUSION NETWORK

Title of Proposal: Facing History and Ourselves Priority Area: 7

Applicant: Facing History and Ourselves

Address: 25 Kennard Road (Street) Brookline, Massachusetts (City/State) 02146 (Zip Code)

Type of Applicant (Check One): LEA ___ Institution of Higher Ed. ___ Nonprofit Organization X Other ___

Amount of Funds Requested for first year: 59,125

APPLICATION EVALUATION CRITERIA

		Maximum Score	Assigned Score
I.	Plan of Operation	20	7
II.	Quality of Key Personnel	20	6
III.	Budget and Cost Effectiveness	10	10
IV.	Evaluation Plan	20	8
V.	Adequacy of Resources	5	5
VI.	Monitoring	15	15
VII.	Effective Dissemination Strategies	10	10
	Total Maximum Score:	100	Total: 61

Print Name of Reviewer: Dr. Christina F. Price

Signature: Christina F. Price Date: Dec. 4, 1986

Specific Instructions: Indicate the point rating you give each criterion to the extent the program narrative is of high quality with respect to each of the activities as described. When citing specific issues or problems, you should include the page reference in the application. In applying each criterion the Secretary considers the extent to which excellence, balance, and imagination are demonstrated in the proposed activities.

SELECTION CRITERIA EDGAR 75.202 through 75.206 and SUBPART D 796.32 of REGS.	Pts.	Comments (Strengths and Weaknesses)	Max. Score 20	Score 7
I. Plan of Operation 796.32(a)				
1. The extent to which the applicant shows high quality in the design of the project.	5	It is not true that you educate people by teaching them to deal with problems they do not face. The problems of today are sufficient for today.		0
2. The extent to which the strategies and activities proposed to implement the project are likely to accomplish the project's objectives successfully.	4	The project itself lacks balance; will former Nazis, etc., be asked to speak?		0
3. The extent to which the applicant sets out an effective management plan including appropriate resource allocation, realistic schedules, and a sufficient amount of time to be spent on the project by the proposed staff members.	4	Resource allocation plans are somewhat vague.		3
4. The extent to which the applicant describes an effective plan of training required to install the program in new settings.	4	Applicant does not justify her confidence that of the 8 teachers trained at the Institutes, all of them can be expected to adopt the program.		2
5. The extent to which the applicant demonstrates that the project will address the needs of racial or ethnic minority groups, women, handicapped persons, and the elderly.	3	A statement is made to this effect on p. 15; but no elaboration is given.		2
6. If the applicant is a local educational agency or State educational agency, is there a clear description of how applicant will satisfy the requirement of private school participation.				
				7

20

II. Quality of key personnel 796.32(b)	Max. Score 20	Score 6
1. The extent to which the project director has the qualifications and capability to conduct the project successfully. Factors to be considered are formal educational training, experience and training in fields related to the objectives of the project, as well as other information that the applicant provides.	11	Project attempts to deal with human behavior, psychology, and values clarification. Neither the program director , William Parsons, nor the applicant, Margaret Strom, is trained in psychology or psychiatry. 0
2. The extent to which other key staff members have the qualifications to disseminate and implement the project successfully.	3	The same problem exists here. 0
3. The extent to which sufficient time is allotted for each staff member to the project.	3	Sufficient time is allotted for each staff member to the project. 3
4. The extent to which the applicant as part of its nondiscriminatory employment practices, encourages applications for employment from persons who are members of groups that have been traditionally underrepresented, such as members of racial or ethnic minority groups, women, handicapped persons, and the elderly.	3	Applicant appears to practice nondiscriminatory employment practices. 3
		6

III. Budget and Cost Effectiveness 796.32(c)			Max. Score 10	Score 10
The extent to which the applicant's budget is:				
a.	adequate to support the project activities;	2½	Yes.	
b.	reasonable in relation to the objectives of the project;	2½	Yes.	
c.	takes into consideration the cost to the adopter for installing the program in a new setting; and	2½	Yes.	
d.	provides a projection of the number of educational service providers that will adopt the program.	2½	Yes, (although, I question the accuracy of the projection).	

		Max. Score 20	Score 8
IV.	Evaluation Plan 796.32(d) The extent to which the applicant describes an effective plan for evaluation by addressing:		
a.	the quality and effectiveness of awareness materials and conferences, training and follow-up, and of internal management plans;	5	Applicant is vague; she says "Workshops and site visits will provide consistent feedback" (p. 22) but neglects to tell us the form of the feedback. 3
b.	the implementation status of the adoption, including key elements and implementation levels, and	5	Properly addressed. 5
c.	the effectiveness of the adoption including the impact on the students of the changes in teacher or administrator behavior.	10	The evaluation which applicant says was approved by the JDRP strikes this reviewer as intrusive and unbalanced. It is a paradoxical and strange aspect of this program and the methods used to change the thinking of students is the same that Hitler and Goebbels used to propagandize the German people. This reeducation method was perfected by Chairman Mao and now is being foisted on American children under the guise of "understanding" history. It is demeaning to a free people. 0

V. Adequacy of resources 796.32(e)

The extent to which the applicant proposes to devote adequate resources to the project by:

a. providing adequate facilities including office and conference space; and

b. providing adequate equipment and supplies.

Max. Score 5	Score 5

Seem adequate. 5

VI. Monitoring 796.2(f)

The extent to which the applicant clearly details plans that show promise of effective management of the program, including post-adoption monitoring of the program implementation and resulting benefits at the adoption sites.

Max. Score 15	Score 15

Applicant is obviously concerned with post-adoption monitoring as discussed on page 22; even to the point of following trained teachers as they move from school to school.

	Max. Score 10	Score 10

VII. Effective Dissemination Strategies 796.32(g)

The extent to which applicant proposes effective dissemination strategies to meet specific characteristics of the program.

Strategies to disseminate programe are well thought out and would certainly, if nothing foreseen intervened, be effective.

Based on an overall assessment of the application, do you recommend this program for funding?

___ Yes X No

Please comment:

My objections to this program have to do with the program's content, rather than with strategies for diffusion. The latter are well thought out, the former is not.

First of all, the entire program strikes me as mass reality avoidance. We can't deal with today's problems, so let's solve yesterday's. We had rather focus on the shortcomings of Hitler and the Germans, than on our own.

Secondly, the program is designed to be a values clarification program (See p. 4). I have grave reservations about this type of program for junior high students. Also on page 4, the applicant claims that the central themes of the programs are particularly appropriate for early adolescence. She does not say why, and personally, I disagree. She goes on to say that these subjects are usually kept from children. Again, I disagree, The Diary of Ann Franke, whether or not it should be, is common reading material of this age group.

Finally, the program gives no evidence of balance or objectivity. The Nazi point of view however, unpopular is still a point of view, and it is not presented; nor is that of the Klu Klux Klan. The selection of only two problem areas, Germany and Armenia leaves out many others, many of which are more recent. I am thinking of the U.S.S.R., Afghanistan, Cambodia, and Ethiopia among others. No explanation of this selectivity is given. My impression is that this program, based as it is on the resource book, The Holocaust and Human Behavior, may be appropriate for a limited religious audience, but not for widespread distribution to the schools of the nation.

Dr. CURRY. Sure I have. But that doesn't represent the official views of the Department. Anti-Semitic views of this issue are totally at odds with those of the Department.

I would also like to point out something that you may not know. That that reviewers score, 61, was the highest score that any of those reviewers gave it. It was 50 percent higher than the scores the other two readers recorded.

Mr. WEISS. And did you or anyone else at the Department directly inform Dr. Price that her comments were inappropriate?

Dr. CURRY. We do not make a practice of informing our commentators as to our evaluation of what they have said. That is not our job.

Mr. WEISS. Dr. Price's review also states that Facing History's methods for teaching are the same used by Hitler and Chairman Mao. Is that also your view?

Dr. CURRY. I cannot make any such statement. I am not familiar with what she is talking about.

Mr. WEISS. Dr. Price also wrote that the Facing History program lacks balance because former Nazis were not asked to participate in it. Do you believe former Nazis should be included in this program?

Dr. CURRY. Absolutely not.

Let me restate my statement I began with. While it is true to understand and appreciate our republic form of government other systems of government should be studied, I do not feel such atrocious regimes as the Nazi party or its philosophy should be presented to students or adults either in a sympathetic manner.

Mr. WEISS. After the application was rejected, did you have any conversation with the people who proposed the program?

Dr. CURRY. Excuse me?

Mr. WEISS. Did you discuss the rejection of the application with the people who had made the application?

Dr. CURRY. I do not understand your question, sir.

Mr. WEISS. After the application was rejected—you said that the application was rejected, right?

Dr. CURRY. Yes.

Mr. WEISS. OK. Now, did you have any conversation with the applicants after the rejection?

Dr. CURRY. You mean with the Facing History program?

Mr. WEISS. Right.

Dr. CURRY. Sure. I talked with them a lot.

Mr. WEISS. What did you say?

Dr. CURRY. I don't know. I talked with them a lot.

Mr. WEISS. Do you have——

Dr. CURRY. I like Mrs. Strom. She is a very wonderful person.

Mr. WEISS. Marvelous.

The question is, do you recall what you told her after the application was rejected?

Dr. CURRY. No, I don't.

Mr. WEISS. No idea at all. OK.

Now, in 1987, the year after Dr. Price's review, Facing History applied again to the National Diffusion Network, is that correct?

Dr. CURRY. That is correct.

Mr. WEISS. Now, a review of the application included that Facing History had "an anti-Christian bias" and a "selective use of leftist authors."

Now, do you recall that?

Dr. CURRY. I recall those comments. But again, sir, we are not responsible for the comments of our peer reviewers. We are not responsible for what they say. They are not espousing the Department's view.

Dr. MANNO. In fact, the Department publicly rejected those comments and criticized them and distanced itself from those comments on numerous occasions.

Mr. WEISS. When was the first time?

Dr. MANNO. Shortly after the initial comments were published in the press.

Mr. WEISS. Shortly after they were published in the press, when?

Dr. MANNO. These were Christina Price's comments. I can't give you a date off the top of my head, but I can certainly get a precise date.

The Department, when asked to respond to those comments, publicly rejected those comments and disassociated itself from those comments.

Mr. WEISS. Tell me roughly when that was?

Dr. MANNO. It was some time in 1987, after the first article appeared in the newspapers quoting these comments.

Dr. CURRY. I can tell you exactly when it was. It was in August 1987.

Mr. WEISS. All right. Now, did you have a conversation, Dr. Curry——

Dr. CURRY. No, sir. In August 1987, I was in Tennessee. My father had had a stroke and we spent that whole month at the rehabilitation center in Vanderbilt.

Mr. WEISS. Did you at any time after that application in 1987 was denied, have a discussion with the applicants as to why it was denied?

Dr. CURRY. Nothing more, sir, than the letters we send. We always send a letter. If that is what you are alluding to.

Mr. WEISS. Why was the application denied in 1987?

Dr. CURRY. Because the score was low.

Mr. WEISS. What was the score in 1987?

Dr. CURRY. Well, 1987 was an interesting year. That was the year that we were operating under the new regulation for the Program Significance Panel and at that time we were to have two reviews of each project.

One review would look at the content. The other review would just look at the dissemination practices. When the content was examined, it was given a score—let me read you the scores and explain how we did it. It was given a score of 70, 57, 57, 30 and 0, and then the readers were asked if this was appropriate for Federal dissemination.

The average score for content was 47. The dissemination review score was 82.

Averaged together, I believe that is about 65 or 67. It was a low score, therefore, it was not funded.

Mr. WEISS. And you conveyed that information to the applicants?

Dr. CURRY. Yes, we did.
Mr. WEISS. OK. Now, along comes 1988.
Dr. CURRY. Correct.
Mr. WEISS. Tell us what happened in 1988.
Dr. CURRY. About the scores?
Mr. WEISS. About the application and what happened.
Dr. CURRY. We received the application.
Mr. WEISS. Right.
Dr. CURRY. We reviewed it.
Mr. WEISS. Yes.
Dr. CURRY. It had a score of 89.
Mr. WEISS. Is that pretty good?
Dr. CURRY. About midway.
Mr. WEISS. About midway?
Dr. CURRY. Yes.
Mr. WEISS. Would it surprise you if I told you there were only 14 that received a higher score?
Dr. CURRY. That is not correct.
Mr. WEISS. No; 89 is not a good score?
Dr. CURRY. It is not an outstanding score.
Mr. WEISS. OK.
Dr. CURRY. In that particular competition there were 48 applicants. Twenty-four of them made scores higher than 89, 24 out of 48.
Mr. WEISS. Then what happened?
Dr. CURRY. I don't understand your question.
Mr. WEISS. Then what ultimately happened in 1988?
Dr. CURRY. Do you want to talk about the categories? I don't understand the question.
Mr. WEISS. Fourteen programs that scored lower than 89 were funded, though, isn't that correct?
Dr. CURRY. I haven't counted that.
Mr. WEISS. Ultimately the score really didn't matter; isn't that correct?
Because the whole category was eliminated. Tell me how that occurred.
Dr. CURRY. I am glad that you have asked that. I was afraid I was not going to get to discuss the category issue.
Mr. WEISS. You know, Dr. Curry, if you feel as we go along there are things I haven't asked you that you think I should, please tell me and maybe I will ask you the question then.
Dr. CURRY. I am glad you have given me that leeway. Sir, I really appreciate you allowing me to come and testify because I really want these unfounded rumors to be put to rest. For to think we have been accused of being Nazi supporters, so to speak, is just ridiculous, and it is—well——
Mr. WEISS. We didn't make up those quotes that I read to you from these reviews.
Dr. CURRY. But I am telling you we don't support those statements and never have.
Mr. WEISS. What did you tell Dr. Price after you read her language about how it was unbalanced because the Nazis weren't represented?
Dr. CURRY. What did I tell her?

91-635 O - 89 - 2

Mr. WEISS. Yes.
Dr. CURRY. I didn't tell her anything.
Mr. WEISS. You bet. OK.
Dr. CURRY. I don't usually make comments.
Mr. WEISS. No matter how horrendous the statement?
Do the reviews play any role in determining the scores?
Dr. CURRY. Excuse me?
Mr. WEISS. Do the reviews play a role in determining the scores that an application or applications receive?
Dr. CURRY. The reviewers give the scores.
Mr. WEISS. Right. So the person who says this was not objective because it does not present the Nazi or the Ku Klux Klan point of view then scores on the basis of the failure to include those points of view; isn't that correct?
Dr. CURRY. Apparently so.
Mr. WEISS. Right. You then make a judgment to deny that application on the basis of that reviewer's score and on the basis of that statement; isn't that correct?
Dr. CURRY. No, sir. We don't agree with every statement that is put out, sir. We could not.
Mr. WEISS. But you went through a great deal telling us how this is a terrible program because of the low score and low score is given by the people who made these outrageous statements.
Dr. CURRY. She gave it the highest scores of those that were reading it. We could have just eliminated hers and it would have had a lower score.
Mr. WEISS. You didn't. You didn't say anything to her about it; go ahead and tell me——
Dr. CURRY. Yes, I have said things to her about it since then.
Mr. WEISS. When was that?
Dr. CURRY. She has called me about it and I told her, Dr. Price, that was a dumb statement for you to make.
Mr. WEISS. What did you say?
Dr. CURRY. It was a dumb statement.
Mr. WEISS. Did you also tell Ms. Schlafly her statements were dumb statements for her opposition?
Dr. CURRY. Well, Ms. Schlafly's opposition does not have anything to do with the Holocaust.
Mr. WEISS. No? What did it have to do with?
Dr. CURRY. You have the letter there, sir.
Mr. WEISS. Tell me your recollection of what Ms. Schlafly's objections were.
Dr. CURRY. It is a matter of record.
Mr. WEISS. I know. Tell me what your recollection is as to what her opposition was.
Dr. CURRY. According to—as I recall, her primary opposition has something to do with the psychological manipulation that she feels the program does. She feels, too, that it is inappropriate for the age group.
Mr. WEISS. And she thinks this is brainwashing; isn't that right? You think that is not a dumb statement?
Dr. CURRY. But, sir, that is not in one of our reports.
Mr. WEISS. Did Ms. Schlafly's point of view bear any weight as to what action the Department took?

Dr. CURRY. My objection and reservation about the program is that it is inappropriate for that age group. That is all.

Mr. WEISS. Yes, I know. Answer my question. Did Ms. Schlafly's stated opposition bear any weight with the action that the Department took in rejecting the application?

Dr. CURRY. Not in my book.

Mr. WEISS. In anybody's book in the Department of Education?

Dr. CURRY. How can I tell? I do not know about that. Let me go back now to our priorities and explain how that works, if I may.

Mr. WEISS. Yes.

Dr. CURRY. We always, in the National Diffusion Network, look at things in categories and we grade applications in categories because it is unfair to compare across categories. In other words, when we receive the programs, a group of readers are assigned to each category.

A reader in one particular category may grade harder than a reader in another particular category. So if the grades are stacked up when you get through, one's 85 might be the top grade, but in another category the 95 might have been the highest grade.

In other words, we do not strive for inter-rater reliability. Therefore, we do not consider grades in one category as opposed to grades in another category.

Have I made myself clear? If not, I will try to address that again.

Mr. WEISS. It is all right. I was wondering if you would answer the question I asked you, which was, why was the decision made to eliminate the category altogether?

Dr. CURRY. We did not eliminate the category, sir.

Mr. WEISS. Geography, history, and civics was not eliminated?

Dr. CURRY. No, sir.

Mr. WEISS. Tell me about it.

Dr. CURRY. We do not eliminate categories. We chose the categories which we needed to fund according to the educational need of the time.

Mr. WEISS. Wait a minute. The category within which Facing History and Ourselves applied was within the category of history, geography, and civics; is that correct?

Dr. CURRY. That is correct.

Mr. WEISS. OK. Then after they received the score of 89 for their application for 1989 they were told that the category had been eliminated; isn't that correct?

Dr. CURRY. No. Not that it had been eliminated. We did not eliminate categories.

Sir, that is what I was trying to explain.

Mr. WEISS. Then why was the application rejected?

Dr. CURRY. We selected categories for funding. We looked at what we already had in the Network. And asked, is this what we need? We looked at categories that we needed and that is what we funded.

Do you have problems with what we funded, sir?

Mr. WEISS. So what——

Dr. CURRY. Science, mathematics, reading, written communication, health including drug prevention programs. Programs that improve teaching and quality education, dropout prevention, and early childhood.

We don't have all the money in the world, Congressman, and we have to make decisions.

Mr. WEISS. And so the decision was made not to fund history, geography, and civics; is that correct?

Dr. CURRY. No, sir. The decision was made to fund science, mathematics, reading, writing, health, programs that improve teaching, dropout prevention, and early childhood.

Mr. WEISS. I have a memorandum dated June 1, 1988, to Chester Finn, Jr., through Bruno Manno from Shirley Curry, Director, and it says at the bottom of the page, "the following priority areas are not recommended for funding."

Dr. CURRY. That is right.

Mr. WEISS. No. 4 on that list is history, geography, and civics.

Dr. CURRY. That is right. I did not say—we did not eliminate it. We chose, sir, what we needed because of educational need and that is what we funded.

Mr. WEISS. So you allowed people to make the application first?

Dr. CURRY. That is right.

Mr. WEISS. And you kept the programs open throughout the year and then at the end of the year you decided that this particular proposal fit into a category which you decided not to fund; is that correct?

Dr. CURRY. That is the way we always do, sir.

Mr. WEISS. So it had nothing to do with the program itself?

Dr. CURRY. Absolutely.

Mr. WEISS. It had only to do with the category you decided not to fund?

Dr. CURRY. Absolutely. You are absolutely correct.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you for clarifying that for us.

Dr. CURRY. That is the way we always work it, sir. We always ask for programs, cast a broad net, let everything come in and then decide.

Mr. WEISS. I don't want you to mistake my perhaps inadequate sense of irony to mislead you into believing that I really think that is what happened.

Why was the Program Significance Panel created in the first place?

Dr. CURRY. There was some concern about what people were judging when they judged these programs.

Mr. WEISS. Now, did the Assistant Secretary tell you prior to the recommendation not to fund by category, that he could not deny funding for Facing History which was rated highly?

Dr. CURRY. No.

Mr. WEISS. Were you aware that Dr. Finn discussed the problem of funding Facing History with William Kristol of the Secretary's staff?

You say Dr. Finn never told you about his meeting with Mr. Kristol; is that right?

Dr. CURRY. No; he did not.

Mr. WEISS. Did you ever have any discussions with Mr. Kristol about Facing History?

Dr. CURRY. Yes.

Mr. WEISS. When did that take place and what was the conversation?

Dr. CURRY. As I recall, it was along about the first of June.

Mr. WEISS. Right.

Dr. CURRY. We discussed that this was a controversial situation and he asked how we usually made decisions?

I said we select categories. Then we look at the individual programs within them.

He said to recommend the categories like we usually had done and follow the reviewers' recommendations to the letter within those priority areas, and that is what we did.

Mr. WEISS. But you made the determination that you were not going to fund in that category?

Dr. CURRY. We selected the categories and the areas of the most educational need, according to what we already had in the Network, and made a professional judgment that those were the categories we needed to fund.

Mr. WEISS. And you said that you don't have all the money in the world, so you had to make choices, right?

Dr. CURRY. That is correct.

Mr. WEISS. On August 10, 1988, did you receive a memorandum from your staff informing you that additional funds were available to the National Diffusion Network and the first priority should go to phasing Network?

Dr. CURRY. You are absolutely right. Yes; I did.

Mr. WEISS. After receiving the memorandum, did you agree to fund Facing History?

Dr. CURRY. No; I did not. I chose to go ahead with the priority areas that we had because we had been instructed to go exactly by the scores and the priority areas that we had already chosen.

So we looked down the slate in the areas that we had already selected for funding and chose the projects.

Mr. WEISS. Now, so you denied funding for Facing History 2 consecutive years. Then in the third year when the program was rated higher than a large percentage of the programs that you did fund, your own staff implored you to fund it and you still denied funds for the program.

It seems to me that you have gone out of your way to see the Holocaust program was not funded. Why?

Dr. CURRY. Sir, I have told you my reservation about the program, but that has nothing to do with the activity we had in 1988. We selected programs, we selected priority areas that needed to be funded because of the educational need.

Mr. WEISS. Were you once a member of the Eagle Forum?

Dr. CURRY. Yes; I was.

Mr. WEISS. Do you know Ms. Schlafly?

Dr. CURRY. Yes; I know Ms. Schlafly.

Mr. WEISS. And did you discuss Facing History with her on a number of occasions?

Dr. CURRY. Not on a number of occasions, but I have discussed it with her.

Mr. WEISS. Now, she told you she was opposed to funding Facing History; is that correct?

Dr. CURRY. That is a matter of record.

Mr. WEISS. Did she ever tell you that she was opposed to any other programs that apply to the National Diffusion Network?

Dr. CURRY. No.

Mr. WEISS. How frequently did you discuss matters within your purview at the Department of Education with Ms. Schlafly?

Dr. CURRY. I don't know how you can answer a question like that, sir. That is like asking how often do you eat raisins. I don't know how you answer a question like that.

Mr. WEISS. We have a note to put into the record, sent to the Office of General Counsel by Dr. Price. She is the lady who wrote about how she didn't think the program was objective because it didn't have the Nazi and Ku Klux Klan point of view incorporated.

The note recommends that the Department inform Dr. Price, "that it would be a mistake and loss to the academic community and this Department if you were ever prevented from working with us."

She wanted you to send that note to her. In fact——

Dr. CURRY. What are you saying?

Mr. WEISS. Dr. Price sent a note to the Office of General Counsel, which was entitled "Suggested Statements for the Department of Education." The note recommends that the Department inform Dr. Price——

Dr. CURRY. I thought you said that I would inform her. I am sorry.

Mr. WEISS. No. That, "It would be a mistake and loss to the academic community and to this Department if you were ever prevented from working with us."

In fact, the Department did inform Dr. Price that she was not barred from working with the Federal Government. Would you allow Dr. Price to review Education Department programs in the future?

Dr. CURRY. Probably not, no.

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Lightfoot.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Curry, since I found out about this hearing on Friday after I had gone back to the district and I didn't get back to Washington until nearly midnight last night, I am not all that well prepared, so please pardon my questions if they may seem a little bit inane at times.

Dr. Curry, in your opening statement, you mentioned that your staff was working to encourage the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council to be a part of the National Diffusion Network. Would you explain in a little greater detail to us your efforts in this area?

Dr. CURRY. Sir, I would be very happy to do that because I want to dispel this notion that we are somehow anti-Semitic or that we have acted in any such way.

We would like to have the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council as a National Diffusion Network project a dissemination process project.

That would mean that the Council would be a dissemination process project in that they would be the judge of the Holocaust programs that are part of the National Diffusion Network.

We would fund them considerably more than we fund a regular DD to issue programs on the Holocaust. They would receive about three times as much money. They would be the judge of what is taught about the Holocaust. We are very pleased for we hope we

will be able to work out an arrangement so that they can get their application together and become part of the Network.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. I believe you mentioned a letter or something, didn't you, in your opening statement from the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council?

Dr. CURRY. Yes.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Could we make that a part of the record?

Dr. CURRY. Yes.

Mr. WEISS. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

March 17, 1988

Ms. Shirley B. Curry
Secretary's Recognition Program
National Diffusion Network
U. S. Department of Education
555 New Jersey Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20208

Dear Shirley,

Firstly, I want to thank you and the conscientious staff at NDN for giving us an opportunity to consider the possibility of submitting a proposal to your program. I consider it a personal honor and privilege to have met you.

After a great deal of deliberation we concluded that we would not be able to put together a credible presentation in such a short period of time. It obviously would have been better for us do so now rather than later, but the situation is such that we would not have looked good in the process.

I hope you understand and appreciate our situation. I would like to return to NDN and submit a credible proposal sometime in the near future. I also hope that the spirit in which we met, when Irene introduced us, will continue in the months and years to come.

I am looking forward to working with you again. I consider you a valuable member of the Secretary's team.

With highest regards,

Sincerely,

Isaiah Kuperstein
Director of Education

cc. Mr. Lyle Ryter

2000 L Street NW, Suite 588, Washington, D.C. 20036-4907
(202) 653-9220

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Dr. Curry, you went through a rather lengthy explanation I think of how you arrived at some of your decisions. My colleague, Mr. Lukens from Ohio, had some questions he wanted to ask because he has a personal interest in this particular issue but had another hearing to attend.

I would like to go back over a couple of things just for my own edification in this process. The scoring system that was used by the review group, I believe you used the term "readers," the people that read the information and then evaluate it and give it a score.

Could you very briefly explain again how this group is selected?

Are they a part of the Department; and as far as their scores are concerned how do they determine the 57 or 78 or whatever the score might be?

Dr. CURRY. No, they are not part of the Department, sir. They are peer reviewers. They are people chosen from the field.

We make an effort to have a broad representation from professionals in the field to read these proposals. Their résumés are given to me and other people on the staff.

We send these résumés to the Assistant Secretary who approves them and then he approves our selection for panels.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Then the opinions that these people express are their own?

Dr. CURRY. Absolutely.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Is that the basic purpose of peer review, to get a different opinion?

Dr. CURRY. I say over and over and over again, field comments do not represent the official views of the Department.

Mr. WEISS. The comment, then, that is at question today, was that a field reader's comment?

Dr. CURRY. Absolutely.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Is the scoring system that is used from 0 to 100?

Dr. CURRY. Yes.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. What criteria do the readers follow in putting the score together to determine if it is a 20 or 90 or whatever it might be? What is the criteria?

Dr. CURRY. They have an instrument that asks various questions such as the plan of operation, the dissemination techniques.

It asks for the qualifications of the personnel and so forth.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. The criteria that they ask those questions from, is it something the Department puts together for them or is it something that they have devised as a peer reviewer?

Dr. CURRY. That is an instrument the Department publishes.

Dr. MANNO. Might I add a comment, sir?

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Certainly.

Dr. MANNO. As part of all of our competitions, the programs are required to submit what we call a technical review plan or a technical evaluation plan that goes to the Department's Office of Grants and Contracts. That technical review plan precisely states how many reviewers will be involved, what types of reviewers will be used, what the instrument will be like, how many points will be allotted for each part of the instrument. So, then the instrument that the individuals use is really a kind of departmentally reviewed instrument and oftentimes there are some very, very basic and

standard categories used that are used over and over and over and over again.

These are not things made up from competition to competition. There is a standard process and a standard form and a standard procedure that we go through in all of our competitions.

I might add in this particular competition we went through all of those.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Now, you mentioned I believe there were 48 items that were in the competition?

Dr. CURRY. Forty-eight proposals we received.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Did the same peer review panel review all 48 of those?

Dr. CURRY. Oh, no. They are assigned to categories and the reviewers are assigned to categories. Some will read the writing category, some will read the mathematics category.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. In other words, you have mathematicians looking at math proposals not geography proposals?

Dr. CURRY. Try to. Try to.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. As a member of the Peer Review Board, would an individual feel that they were somewhat hamstrung in expressing their opinion if they felt like they were going to be criticized by the Department of Education if, in fact, their opinion didn't necessarily agree with theirs and, therefore, would not give an honest appraisal at the peer review level?

Dr. CURRY. You are probably correct, sir. They are given every leeway to express their own opinion. We do not try to tell them what to say.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Would it be a fair statement then that you at that time in the Department of Education would be reluctant to criticize what a peer review person said for fear of damaging that process?

Dr. CURRY. I guess that would be a fair assessment, absolutely.

Dr. MANNO. I might also add in reference to the comment that has been made, as I said before, the Department is on record as rejecting that comment. I have in front of me, for example, an article that appeared in the New York Daily News on September 23, 1987, where the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy and Planning in OERI, Ronald Preston, is quoted as saying, and I quote, he called her commentary "an appalling review."

So in this particular instance, the Department immediately disassociated itself with the comment that was made and is on published record as so stating.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. We have established then that you have a general reluctance to criticize what a peer review group has to say. In this particular instance, you did distance yourself from it.

I guess a logical question is why.

Dr. MANNO. Because we found it to be an appalling comment and an appalling review. And we thought we should make that publicly known as quickly as possible.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Have you done this in other instances in the past, distanced yourself from a peer review comment?

Dr. MANNO. Probably not as publicly as this as far as I know. But let me talk about perhaps two levels here.

There is the formal public level and there is the informal level. It is not at all unusual for a staff person to go to other individuals who might have used a reviewer to discuss with that individual how that reviewer worked in a particular context so that there are informal comments that are shop talk among staff.

I think the important point here is that in this particular instance there was a statement made that we rejected the review.

In this particular instance the other thing that occurred which doesn't generally happen is that the comment of the individual was such an important one that it gathered all sorts of publicity. Because of that, the Department wanted to make sure this was in no manner, shape or form associated with the Department in an official way.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. So you felt very strongly this was an inappropriate comment.

Dr. MANNO. Absolutely, sir, and the Department so stated.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Is Facing History and Ourselves still a part of the National Diffusion Network process?

Dr. CURRY. Yes, it is.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. The next questions are for getting a better understanding of exactly how this whole process works.

Let's say that I have got a paper I wrote on who knows what—fairness in Congress—and I would submit it to the Department of Education. What would be the process briefly that it would go through in order to become funded and become a part of the National Diffusion Network program?

Also, do you accept everything that is submitted to you?

Dr. MANNO. There are a couple of things here that would set the parameters.

In answer to your question, first of all there is a formal announcement that is published in the Federal Register inviting applicants to apply. In this particular case, as with all our competitions, an announcement was made. The announcement specifies the general guidelines for the competition and the number of awards we expect to make, what the range of those awards is, the closing date, et cetera.

An applicant then submits an application and that application goes to what we call the application control center. An initial determination is then made as to whether the application contains what it should contain, does it have the proper format, the cover sheets, et cetera. If in fact it has everything it should contain, it is sent over to the program for review.

It is at that point that the peer review process kicks into place. A panel then reviews the proposal. Those comments are analyzed by program staff. The immediate supervisor of the program staff then makes a recommendation to the program director.

That recommendation makes its way up the hierarchy, so to speak, to the Assistant Secretary, who, acting on behalf of the Secretary, approves or disapproves the slate which is sent forward.

I might add that it is extremely rare, and frankly I can't think of an instance, at least in the time I have been responsible for looking at this paperwork, when the Assistant Secretary has overturned the decision of a program when it came to a recommendation.

Those are the general parameters of a competition. There are various nuances along the way, but that is in general.

Dr. CURRY. I think one thing Congressman Lightfoot was getting at is how does one get into the Network initially?

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Right.

Dr. CURRY. In other words, one does not just send in an application for funding. One must first be in the Network. In order to be in the Network, a program makes a program effectiveness application, in which case it states its educational claim, what it claims it can do. Then it must show statistically or with some other educationally persuasive evidence that it can indeed do what it claims it can do.

Once it convinces a panel of statistical experts that it can indeed do what it claims to do, it has PEP approval. Then it is part of the Network and is eligible to be disseminated throughout our 52 State facilitators across the Nation. So this program has been in the Network.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. So then there is actually any one of a number of places that a program could be kicked out or rejected; first of all, through the effectiveness—if it doesn't meet that criteria, it is gone.

Dr. CURRY. If it doesn't meet that, it is never in the Network. True.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Then once it becomes a part of the Network, then the peer review process would be the next level where it can be kicked out?

Dr. CURRY. It is not kicked out, no. In the peer review it just may not get funds, but it is still part of the Network.

We have about 400 programs in the Network, Congressman, but we only fund about 80 of them.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. The 400 that are in the Network, will they continue in their attempts to be funded until such time they are funded, or will the program run its course and be dropped because it isn't effective anymore?

Dr. CURRY. Many of them have their own funding, and they do not require Federal funds. Various ones of them do come back and compete in other competitions. But they will stay in the Network as long as they have program effectiveness approval regardless of whether they ever get any money from the Federal Government or not.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. If I were in a school system working with the National Diffusion Network program, and saw this particular program, and thought it was something I could use even though it hadn't received Federal funding, and I was in a position in my institution to fund it, could I take the program and use it?

Dr. CURRY. Surely. You surely could. You would probably call either the program itself or you would be in touch with your State facilitator—we have an office, State facilitator office, in each of the 50 States—and inquire about the program, inquire about when they would be having awareness sessions, and you could use it, truly.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Then the aspect of the funding we are talking about—$70,000, is that correct, or whatever I saw?

Dr. CURRY. That is about what they were requesting. Our average funding is about $55,000.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Basically what would that funding be used for—just disseminating the information, producing it or what?

Dr. CURRY. Primarily it is used for disseminating the information, for training workshops and so on, material, things of that sort.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. It could be used for films or videotapes or books or whatever?

Dr. CURRY. Yes. It is used by the developer/demonstrators themselves. It is not used by the schools as such.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Do you know if anyone has picked a program up and used it without it being funded?

Dr. CURRY. Surely. All these that we have here are without Federal funds.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Is the Facing History program being used now?

Dr. CURRY. Yes. He testified to this at the beginning, as to how many schools it was in already without the aid of Federal funds.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Basically we are talking about Federal funding, which possibly would cause a program—if they did receive Federal funding, to be used more widely, is that correct? I guess maybe that is a logical question. If we spend the money on any program, does that guarantee it is going to be used?

Dr. CURRY. We don't have that guarantee.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Are they usually used?

Dr. CURRY. We will have to say that funded projects are usually used more than nonfunded projects, but I don't think that is true of this case. I think in this case this program is used about as much as many of our funded projects.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Going back to your response to several of the chairman's questions, there was something that kept catching my ear in the answers, and basically I am asking you now in order to make sure I understood correctly what I think I heard you say.

The basic reason this particular project scored as low as it did, if I am hearing correctly, was based on the fact, not that it is not a good program, or not that it is a story that shouldn't be told, but on the fact it is inappropriate for junior high students.

Did I hear that correctly or not?

Dr. CURRY. That is my reservation on the program.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Is that the key reason it scored that low?

Dr. CURRY. I can't say that because I don't recall the various reasons.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Mr. Chairman, could I ask your intent to allow Mr. Frank and our other colleague to ask questions, in the interest of time?

Mr. WEISS. As a matter of fact, I am going to call on Mr. Frank and Mr. Yates and then come back for a second round if other people want to ask questions.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. I certainly have no objections to my colleagues asking questions. I think any of our colleagues who are interested in this issue should be allowed the opportunity to do that. I am anxious to hear what my two friends have to say.

I would remind the Chairman, in your opening statement you made a very big argument that this was a nonpartisan situation. I

recall a Social Security hearing not long ago where a freshman Representative, Mr. Kyl from Arizona, was not allowed to ask questions because he was not a member of the subcommittee. I merely would make that statement for the record.

Dr. Curry, I apologize for not having the degree of background that we should have, because it came about so quickly, but the uproar over the statement, which I agree with you is a ridiculous statement, I doubt very seriously if there is anyone in this room who would not go to the wall to defend particularly the Jewish people and what happened in the Holocaust and so on. I think this is something we all feel; there are not words to describe how terrible that situation was. We certainly would never want to see anything like that happen again. Our young people should learn about it.

Dr. CURRY. Absolutely.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Because they are the ones who will be the future of this world. Those of you who are experts in your particular area in education are the ones who, in cooperation with parents and school boards, should make those decisions of what our young people should see at a particular time.

I agree with your statement that we should learn about the Nazi point of view but certainly not portray it in a positive light. I think it should be shown for being as ugly as it is.

At the same time, as we review this particular issue, I still get the feeling that the core issue here is a very inappropriate statement that was made. There has been a great deal of reaction to it which I think is very appropriate, the reaction to it, because the statement shouldn't have been made in the first place.

But I think the issue here is determining whether you in fact condone that, and my feeling is at this point you didn't.

My final question to you would be what you would do in the future if a peer review group on another issue of whatever magnitude would make a comment as ludicrous as the one that is at issue here? How would you respond to a peer review panel in the future that would make a statement as ludicrous as the one we are discussing this morning?

I realize you are out of a job now, but perhaps you could offer your experience to whoever may succeed you.

Dr. CURRY. No. 1, this became such a problem because this comment became public. It is not the Department's job to critique generally what our commenters say.

However, if anyone would ever make such a statement as this, I would tell them I strongly support Holocaust education and that statement is offensive to me.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Thank you, Dr. Curry.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you, Mr. Lightfoot.

Mr. Frank.

Mr. FRANK. Thank you.

Dr. Curry, I just want to get clear, you say you were reassigned on Friday?

Dr. CURRY. That is correct.

Mr. FRANK. What are your duties in your new job?

Dr. CURRY. I am the Special Assistant to the Under Secretary—let me get the exact title.

Mr. FRANK. I am sorry, I didn't think that would be a hard question.

Dr. CURRY. I am the Special Assistant to the Deputy Under Secretary for Management.

Mr. FRANK. What are your duties?

Dr. CURRY. I prepared for this hearing for the last 2 days and when I go back we will see what my duties are. I can tell you what I want to do.

Mr. FRANK. This is not a wish list; this is an oversight hearing about the Federal Government.

What is your salary?

Dr. CURRY. My salary?

Mr. FRANK. Yes, ma'am.

Dr. CURRY. $57,000, I believe.

Mr. FRANK. It sounds like you don't have any duties as of now. I was skeptical at your description of yourself as Sister Rabbit being thrown into the briar patch. With this hearing coming up, the administration decided to take a politically safe move and move you out of there, especially since Dr. Manno said you were talking about leaving in November or December.

Are you still thinking about leaving in November or December?

Dr. CURRY. Absolutely.

Mr. FRANK. I am very critical of a Department which would take someone from a position, put you in a new position for a month or two, your duties still haven't been defined, and we are paying someone $57,000 not to do very much.

I don't suggest it is your fault. I don't suggest in this case you are looking not to do things. It sounds to me, however, if they move you to the management department with a month or two to go in your tenure—this is the end of October—what they are doing is to avoid political embarrassment, giving you a paid vacation for a month or two at a $57,000 salary.

It is ironic that you are going to the management department. I can't think of a worse management decision than to take a senior Presidential appointee, transfer her to a new job, which you had to look up when I asked you what it was, and not define your duties, and you are going to leave in a month or two so by the time you learn your duties you are going to be out.

I can understand when people feel politically in the advent of an election they have to cover parts of themselves, but this seems to me to be a little expensive way to do it.

On the peer review process, I have this problem because you keep saying these opinions don't mean anything, except the opinions are the basis for the scores. Both cases of these very offensive and inaccurate and professionally incompetent opinions——

Dr. CURRY. Amen.

Mr. FRANK. You counted the scores, correct?

Dr. CURRY. The scores were recorded, yes.

Mr. FRANK. So, yes, amen, they were incompetent and off the wall and inaccurate, and yet your Department awarded them full weight. Did you discount them for being crazy?

Dr. CURRY. That was the highest score in the category.

Mr. FRANK. But the fact is the high score doesn't detract from the fact that you, in your process, gave full weight to the one who said the Nazi point of view wasn't included and for the one who said this was anti-Christian.

So the fact is, you selected these people to be the peer reviewers. They submitted these opinions and, having read them, you fully counted the scores. An appropriate response would have been to say, "Whoops, out you go."

While you disagree with the specific language, which disagreement I gather was not voiced until after it became public, there was no instant response. This was not an instant response, "I will tell them." After it became public, then you had to disassociate yourself from it. But the fact is, until this testimony became public you gave full weight to these scores in the process.

Isn't that correct?

Dr. CURRY. They were recorded.

Mr. FRANK. They weren't just recorded. They were treated like any other scores. They were arranged in whatever weight scores get, these two crazy opinions were given full weight.

You read them. You read these offensive remarks and you said, oh, OK, that is 61 and that is 57. I know the one here they have a 57. By far the lowest percentage they got was on content, the one who said it was anti-Christian.

So I don't think you are entitled to say you repudiated these things. After the fact, when it became controversial, you said you didn't agree with those opinions; but all during the process these two whacko, offensive opinions were given full weight by your Department in the evaluation process.

Isn't that correct? The scores were given the same weight as any others?

Dr. CURRY. The scores were recorded.

Mr. FRANK. What does that mean, "recorded"? Were they then disregarded or were they given the same weight in the process as every other evaluator?

Dr. CURRY. The scores were recorded, sir.

Mr. FRANK. Dr. Curry, was your doctorate in repetition? I am asking you a question as an intelligent Presidential appointee. Were those scores given the same weight in the process as were other scores, whatever weight that is?

Dr. CURRY. The readers were, their material was used.

Mr. FRANK. The same as anybody else?

Dr. CURRY. Yes.

Mr. FRANK. I think that is very important. I don't think you are entitled to say you repudiated them. Your Department got these in 1986, 1987, and you read them and gave them full weight. Shame on the Department.

No further questions.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you, Mr. Frank.

Mr. Yates.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Chairman, I am not a member of this committee. Mr. Frank is.

Mr. WEISS. We always welcome participation, and the incident that Mr. Lightfoot referred to, his recollection was in error. In fact, that gentleman was present. He left before it was his turn to be

called upon for questions. There was no denial. We always reach out with great courtesy to any visitors, either members of the committee or nonmembers of the committee.

We are delighted to have it.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Mr. Chairman, I have no objection to Mr. Yates or Mr. Frank asking questions. As Mr. Frank just told me, I was an ungrateful bastard behind your back, but quite frankly——

Mr. YATES. I wouldn't say that about you.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. I have no objection to members coming in and asking questions. I think that is something we should always do. Quite frankly, I think it is just courtesy, and I am interested in what Mr. Yates has to ask on this particular issue.

The situation I made reference to was a hearing we held some time back, and Mr. Kyl did not ask any questions. He expressed to me he was very upset that he was not allowed to ask questions, and that is the only reason I brought it up at this point in time.

Mr. WEISS. Again the use of "not allowed"—he left before we could call on him for questions. Sometimes, as you know, the questioners go on, I go on, you go on, other people do, and not everybody gets reached at the time that is within their schedule to be reached.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT. All I can say, Mr. Chairman, is that I can certainly identify with minorities and I know what it is like to be in a minority.

Mr. WEISS. Me, too.

Mr. Yates.

Mr. YATES. With your permission, Mr. Chairman, and with Mr. Lightfoot's permission, I will ask a few questions, because I am interested in the subject. I am interested in this hearing.

I did make a speech on the floor when I read the Washington Post article on October 4 and was horrified by the contents of that article. It didn't seem possible that the Department of Education could go through that kind of procedure. That attitude of mine was underscored by the questioning that Mr. Frank undertook here to show just how the Department acted.

As I read through the Post article, I read that Dr. Curry was a member of the Eagle Forum. As a matter of fact, the article said that she was a director of the Eagle Forum.

Is that statement correct?

Dr. CURRY. Correct.

Mr. YATES. What does that mean? In the capacity as director, were you the operating executive director or a member of the board of directors?

Dr. CURRY. The latter.

Mr. YATES. What was the purpose of the Eagle Forum?

Dr. CURRY. It is just an organization to take a look at profamily issues.

Mr. YATES. Profamily issues. Was that program organized by Ms. Schlafly?

Dr. CURRY. Yes.

Mr. YATES. Did it reflect her point of view?

Dr. CURRY. Yes, I would think so.

Mr. YATES. And I read also from here that it says, "Curry, a former director of the Eagle Forum, said once her team had been elected, she had come to Washington to play for that team."

Is that a correct statement?

Dr. CURRY. Not adequate. That is not an exact statement. But I am a political appointee.

Mr. YATES. Were you appointed by the President directly?

Dr. CURRY. My appointment had to be cleared by the White House.

Mr. YATES. Were you recommended by Ms. Schlafly? Is that the reason the White House decided to appoint you?

Dr. CURRY. I don't know.

Mr. YATES. Well, in your testimony you said that you prepared the list of panelists who reviewed the programs, who reviewed the applications.

Dr. CURRY. I said I approved them. My staff prepares them usually.

Mr. YATES. Your staff prepares them.

Dr. CURRY. I have to give my OK on them, and then Dr. Finn gives his OK on them and then they are used.

Mr. YATES. Well then I still don't understand with respect to the procedures that are used in the Department of Education when an application is filed and proceeds through the Department on its way to approval or disapproval.

As it happens, I am chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee which reviews the appropriations for the National Endowment for the Arts and for the National Endowment for the Humanities. Presumably, the endowments go through the same kind of procedures in approving grants from among the applications that are filed for Federal funding. In both of those, I think that peer review and peer panel decisions are the guts of their programs.

By listening to peer panels, we keep politics out of the programs. The applications are judged by the peers of those who are applying.

Would you make the same kind of statement with respect to the Department of Education?

Dr. MANNO. Yes, sir. As a matter of fact, if we look at the number of competitions that have been conducted, for example, in OERI, since October 1987, there were over 20 separate competitions held, over 740 proposals were received, over 300 awards were made, and only once through that whole process was there any deviation from the so-called rank order of the peer reviewers. That occurred only so that the slate would have better geographical distribution.

So the point here is that in most instances the comments of the peer reviewers are so important——

Mr. YATES. The important thing to me here is what is the quality or the character of the peer panelists. In this case, inasmuch as Dr. Curry selected or approved the peer panelists, does that mean that the peer panelists then were those who had political philosophies or social philosophies the same as Dr. Curry's, if she is the one who is responsible for their selection?

Dr. MANNO. The selection of panel members is to be made on the basis of professional qualifications.

Mr. YATES. OK. You can have professional qualifications like those of Dr. Christina Price then, can you not? She was one of those who was selected to review the application of Facing History.

Dr. CURRY. Sir, I did not know Dr. Price. She has an astounding résumé.

Mr. YATES. That's right. You looked at her résumé and Dr. Price was one of the panelists whom you approved for use for consideration of the projects. Isn't that right?

Dr. CURRY. That is true.

Mr. YATES. But the fact still remains that the selection of the panelists will in great measure determine whose applications are approved.

As an example, Facing History, the character of the panelists decided this should not be approved. Isn't that right? The project wasn't approved. We know that, don't we? Who disapproved it?

Dr. CURRY. Sir, are you——

Mr. YATES. Was it disapproved by the panelists in the first instance?

Dr. CURRY. The panelist rated it low.

Mr. YATES. Is 89 a low rating?

Dr. CURRY. You said the first instance?

Mr. YATES. In any instance, who decided? The panelists rated it low and therefore you threw it out because of the panelists, is that correct?

Dr. CURRY. Which competition are we discussing?

Mr. YATES. How many competitions were there?

Dr. CURRY. We have had five competitions.

Mr. YATES. This was rejected in all five competitions, is that correct?

Dr. CURRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. YATES. Were the grades accorded to Facing History the same for each of the competitions?

Dr. CURRY. No. The grades were not the same.

Mr. YATES. Can you tell us what the grades were for each of the competitions?

Dr. CURRY. In 1982 the grade was 57. In 1986 the grade was 69. In October 1986 the grade was 48. In July, for the Program Significance Panel——

Mr. YATES. What year is this we are in?

Dr. CURRY. 1987. The grade was 47. The dissemination review panel, the grade was 82. In April the grade was 89.

Mr. YATES. And were the low grades that were recorded for this project made by panels consisting of the people that Congressman Frank described? Were they members of that panel, of those panels?

Dr. CURRY. No. I don't know. What do you mean?

Mr. YATES. Congressman Frank asked you about certain panelists, did he not?

Dr. CURRY. That is true.

Mr. WEISS. All right. Their scores were considered—their scoring was considered in deciding whether that would be approved, as I understand what you told him.

Dr. CURRY. The readers were chosen and they made their choice.

Mr. YATES. Is there a difference between readers and panelists?

Dr. CURRY. Not in my case.

Mr. YATES. Is a reader the same as the panelist?

Dr. CURRY. That is true. That is right, Congressman. We might note, Congressman, that the last competition only evaluated dissemination techniques. It did not evaluate the program.

Mr. YATES. Let me ask you about this comment that appears in the Post respecting Ms. Schlafly. It says this: "In the spring of 1987, a new panel convened to consider the project. During its deliberations, Ms. Schlafly wrote to the Department's chief of staff William Kristol, summarizing the forum's opposition to the program. Schlafly charged Facing History was psychological manipulation, introduced behavioral change and privacy invading treatment, and urged that the Department reject its proposals."

How did Ms. Schlafly know about the proposal?

Dr. CURRY. It was in the paper. She was responding to an article. Read the first of her letter. It says responding to an article in some paper.

Mr. YATES. Was her letter responsible in any way for the rejection of the project?

Dr. CURRY. No.

Mr. YATES. She wasn't a panelist.

Did Mr. Kristol do anything as a result of having read that letter? Did he talk to anybody in your Department?

Dr. CURRY. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. YATES. He didn't talk to you?

Dr. CURRY. No.

Mr. YATES. Did he talk to you, Dr. Manno?

Dr. MANNO. Mr. Kristol.

Mr. YATES. Yes.

Dr. MANNO. Certainly not, no.

Mr. YATES. OK. Did you have enough money to fund all the projects that were approved? Perhaps I ought to precede that question by asking this one. In the humanities, Mr. Bennett told our committee, when he was chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, that above a certain score projects were approved, but the money that was available was only adequate to take care of the really excellent ones. Is that true in your system as well, when you reach a certain score, do you approve projects over that score?

Dr. MANNO. In general, that is true, but not in all instances. The question of the funding of projects is related to a variety of issues, one of which is score, the other ones being, for example, geographical distribution. Oftentimes as a slate comes forward, the person who is in the process of preparing the slate might see that all the recommendations or at least all of the high-scoring proposals are from, let's use this as an example, the east coast. In order to maintain some kind of balance in the number of awards which are made, a decision might be made to skip over a proposal or two, as I illustrated a couple minutes ago in one of the slates that we had.

Mr. YATES. When the project received a score of 89, were projects that did not receive that score, that were below that score approved?

Dr. CURRY. Yes.

Dr. MANNO. We have to remember here that in this instance, all of the rankings were within certain categories, as opposed to a

strict ranking from 1 to 40. So that within each of these categories, proposals were ranked by score and awards were made on the basis of scores within categories. And it is my understanding that there was strict adherence to ranking of proposals within categories.

Dr. CURRY. It is as though we have 18 different competitions.

Mr. YATES. Where would the project rank in that overall scoring? Were any projects that were below this project in overall scoring approved?

Dr. CURRY. Yes. We told you it ranked about 25th.

Mr. YATES. That doesn't answer my question, I think. My question is, were there projects or applications that were approved that were scored in all the categories of scoring that the witness testified to that received lower scores than this project?

Dr. CURRY. Yes. That is what I said. In the ranked——

Mr. YATES. But I don't understand Dr. Manno's answer to my previous question then. My previous question, I said this had a score of 89. Were any projects that received lower scores approved, and you said yes. But then you told me there were other categories that were taken into consideration.

Then my next question was, taking all those criteria into consideration, all the manners of judging these projects into consideration, were there any projects approved that had a lower score than this one, and she said yes to that. Is that correct? Were there such projects that were approved?

Dr. MANNO. If one looks at the——

Mr. YATES. I don't understand why you can't answer that question directly. You have a series of criteria. In one of the criteria you said this project got an 89.

Dr. MANNO. Nothing was funded in the history, geography, and civics category.

Mr. YATES. Why were they not?

Dr. MANNO. Mrs. Curry spoke to that issue before.

Mr. YATES. You mean, this is the category that was taken out of the playing field then, is that the reason for it?

Dr. CURRY. We did—we funded programs in science, mathematics, reading, writing, health, programs that improved teaching and the quality of education, dropout prevention and a——

Mr. YATES. Why did the person who applied file her application if she wasn't going to be allowed any consideration for her project?

Dr. CURRY. Congressman, that is the way the process works. We cast a broad net. We ask for applications in all of the 18 priority areas.

Mr. YATES. Yes, but did you at that time say that applications in the field of history would not be funded in any respect? Why would a person go through the enormous travail and pain and expense of preparing a project grant application in compliance with your guidelines that you have advertised for, if it was futile in the first place?

Dr. MANNO. In fact, people do this and have done it all the time.

Mr. YATES. Why do you say that?

Dr. MANNO. There is a list of 18 or 20 categories that literally covers the waterfront. In casting the widest net possible, we hope to evoke the widest interest possible. Obviously, everyone who submits a proposal in these 18 or 20 priority areas has to know in sub-

mitting a proposal that awards are limited, as is money. So it is common knowledge that not every category is funded, not every specific topical area is funded. This is common practice, and has been done over several competitions.

Mr. WEISS. Dr. Curry, wait just a moment. I asked you and I am going to ask Dr. Manno, taking up exactly at that point. Okay. You get through making the evaluations and decide that you have only got *x* amount of money and you can't fund everything. So you make your judgments as to who is going to be funded. Then lo and behold it occurs that you discover, the staff discovers, that there is money available that they had not anticipated. And so on August 10, 1988, Lee Wickline, who is a team leader, sends a memorandum to Dr. Curry in which he says that a total of—is Lee Wickline a man?

Dr. MANNO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WEISS. He says that a total of $162,472 is available in the NDN account to fund additional development demonstrator projects. He tells you where the money is coming from and why it is available. Then he says, "Attached is a list of the approval projects that could be funded. My recommendations for selecting projects for funding are based upon the following assumptions." He goes through six criteria. And then he says, based upon these assumptions, my recommendation, according to priority, follow. And at the top of the list, history, geography, and civics—Facing History, priority No. 1.

And I ask you, Dr. Manno, having accepted for the sake of this discussion everything you told Mr. Yates, why at this point, with that recommendation, with that kind of substantiation as to why Facing History ought to be the one that gets top priority, why Facing History is at that point not funded?

Dr. MANNO. That was a recommendation made to Dr. Curry, who made the decision not to fund it.

Mr. WEISS. You know, that is like saying the television set is a rectangle because it is a rectangle. Dr. Curry says because it is my professional judgment, and what I want to know is, on what basis she made that professional judgment, and if you know when in fact the recommendation of the staff spelled out and backed up in great detail that Facing History at that point be the No. 1 priority.

Dr. MANNO. She has talked about her professional judgment and what went into forming that judgment.

Mr. WEISS. In the face of the professional judgment of the people who are in charge of giving her that advice.

So you took that upon yourself, Dr. Curry, right?

Dr. CURRY. Well——

Mr. WEISS. To overrule that recommendation?

Dr. CURRY. Yes, sir, I make my recommendation.

Mr. WEISS. You make the decision.

Dr. CURRY. I made the recommendation, sir. I don't decide.

Mr. WEISS. Who made the decision?

Dr. CURRY. I do not decide. The Assistant Secretary is the approving official.

Mr. WEISS. Is that Dr. Finn?

Dr. CURRY. Dr. Finn.

Mr. WEISS. Dr. Finn made the recommendation.

Now, did you submit a memorandum to Dr. Finn making your recommendation in the face of the recommendation that was made to you? Do you have a memorandum in which you made your recommendation?

Dr. CURRY. I have a memorandum that is on file of my recommendations to Dr. Finn, yes, and I believe you have those.

Mr. WEISS. What reason did you give?

Dr. CURRY. Educational need.

Mr. WEISS. We have not received a memorandum. Do you have that in front of you?

Dr. CURRY. Excuse me?

Mr. WEISS. We haven't received that. We asked for all the papers and documentation. We have not received——

Dr. CURRY. You don't have a memorandum of the slate that I sent forward?

Mr. WEISS. Subsequent to August 10, 1988, which is the supplemental distribution, do you know what——

Dr. CURRY. We have a memorandum to show the supplemental distribution went forward, yes.

Mr. WEISS. Do you have it?

Dr. CURRY. I don't have it with me, but you have it.

Mr. WEISS. No, we don't.

Dr. CURRY. Well, I don't know why you don't.

Mr. WEISS. I don't know why we don't either.

Dr. CURRY. We will sure make it available to you.

Mr. WEISS. It would be nice to have it now.

Tell me what you said, if you recollect, in the memorandum that you sent to Dr. Finn, as to why you were recommending that in fact Facing History not be the one granted supplemental appropriation.

Dr. CURRY. When we found that we had—let me see how much money we had.

Mr. WEISS. $162,472.

Dr. CURRY. We had that much money left and we said, "Go ahead, and in the priorities you have already chosen, fund the next projects that are available, that are on the list."

Mr. WEISS. Wait a minute. The priorities that were recommended to you by Lee Wickline, put Facing History at the top of the list.

Dr. CURRY. The history category was not one that had been chosen for funding.

Mr. WEISS. Yes, but they are making—now we are on "Who's" on first, "What's" on second and "I don't know," third base.

Dr. CURRY. I don't know what you are driving at.

Mr. WEISS. What I am driving at, Dr. Curry, is that you had said, and I am willing to accept for the sake of this discussion, your argument that you have only so much money, you can only fund so many programs, and unfortunately history, geography, and civics category wasn't lucky enough and there was no money left by the time you got through making grants. OK.

Along comes your staff and says, "Hey, wait a minute, we found another $162,000," and they say, "We recommend Facing History to be at the top of that priority." You say, "No, I made a recommendation in the face of that to Dr. Finn not to fund Facing History." I am trying to find out why.

Dr. CURRY. That money became available because we did not have another dissemination process project eligible for funding.

Mr. WEISS. Right.

Dr. CURRY. Therefore, we had extra funds.

Mr. WEISS. My question is, why was Facing History not one of those?

Dr. CURRY. For the same reason that it was not—that category was not chosen to begin with. We had chosen the categories to be funded in this competition. So when more moneys arose, we put those to the priorities which had been chosen in this competition.

Mr. WEISS. So it didn't make any difference how much money you got had available. You could have gotten $3 million more available and you still wouldn't have funded Facing History because you wouldn't——

Dr. CURRY. No, sir, you are absolutely incorrect. If we had money to fund everything, we would have funded Facing History.

Mr. WEISS. Well, tell me which programs, because apparently the team leaders said you could make $54,000 available for each of three additional developer-demonstrator projects. Which were the three projects that were supplementally funded?

Dr. CURRY. Do you want the name of the projects or the categories?

Mr. WEISS. Both.

Dr. CURRY. We funded the dropout prevention program, COFFEE, in Massachusetts. We funded early childhood education. We funded improving teaching. We funded geology and science. We funded four of them.

Mr. WEISS. You funded four. And did you—do you have the memorandum? Does any of your staff have the memorandum which you sent on to Dr. Finn, making that recommendation?

Dr. CURRY. Do you have that?

Dr. MANNO. I think I have the one she is referring to.

Dr. CURRY. I believe you have this in your package, sir.

Dr. MANNO. I believe it is in your package.

Mr. WEISS. May we see it.

Dr. CURRY. Because Mr. Wickline gave me a note that everything was complete. I assumed that it was.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Chairman, may I just continue?

Mr. WEISS. Of course.

Let me close it out by saying that it seems to me that what you are telling us, Dr. Curry, is that the last paragraph of Ms. Schlafly's letter is really the operative guideline here. It says, "In sum, I believe it would be most unfortunate if schools across the Nation are permitted to believe that the Federal Government is sponsoring such a manipulative course in the public schools. Let's get back to 'basic skills' and 'what works'."

From what you told me, in fact, the programs such as Facing History never had a shot because you made a determination with Ms. Schlafly's support or direction that in fact it was not the kind of program you were interested in funding.

Mr. Yates.

Mr. YATES. I think beyond that, Mr. Chairman, I think it probably never had a shot because of what seems to be the character of

the panelists that were selected to decide which projects would have a shot.

If this Post article is correct, and I will let the witnesses state for the record whether it is correct, this is a serious situation. We do know what Dr. Christina Price said in respect to the necessity of presenting other points of view than that presented in Facing History, such as the Nazi point of view and the Ku Klux Klan point of view.

Then we come to another part of the Post article and it says, after discussing the Schlafly letter to William Kristol, that when the panel reported, one member found the program to rely on selective use of leftist authorities and cited British historian A.J.P. Taylor, writer, Kurt Vonnegut, and New York Times columnist, Flora Lewis. I take it that person is not Dr. Price but some other panelist.

Another panelist says, "The program was also found to be profoundly offensive to fundamentalists and evangelicals." Then another basis for rejection. Another reviewer called it antiwar, antihunting, and another judged it likely to induce a guilt trip.

The article goes on and says, "It's not possible to amass a list of panel members with individual review." If those viewpoints are samples of the character and quality of the panelists, who reviewed these applications, a project like Facing History never had a chance for approval.

I think it is reprehensible.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for the opportunity of asking questions.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you very much, Mr. Yates.

I guess that I really have——

Mr. YATES. Let me finish that, Mr. Chairman, because the essence of peer panel review is that the panelists must be objective, must be unbiased. They must have an open mind and they must have discretion. That is the only basis that you have for maintaining a scholarly and unprejudiced viewpoint as you face the applications that are sent to you for review. I don't think that was done in this case.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you very much.

Let me just clear up a couple of points where there may be some confusion, and I think the record really ought to be clear.

Dr. Curry, I think you had said in response to a question of mine that in fact you did have conversations with Mr. Kristol regarding the Facing History proposal. Is my recollection correct, did you have some conversations with him?

Dr. CURRY. Yes.

Mr. WEISS. You did. Because in response to a question that Mr. Yates put to you, you seem to indicate that you had no conversations with Mr. Kristol.

Dr. CURRY. No. I have never denied that.

Mr. WEISS. You did have conversations?

Dr. CURRY. Yes, I did.

Mr. WEISS. Now, Dr. Manno, I assume that given the newspaper's publicity about Facing History in 1987, that come 1988, the Facing History proposal was a matter of clear knowledge within

the Department, is that right? There was no secret about the fact that there was an application pending?

Dr. MANNO. No, sir. No secret.

Mr. WEISS. Right. When I asked you about conversations that you had with Dr. Finn, you said that you couldn't really remember any of the substance of the conversation except that you had said at one point that the process was unusual.

Now, amplify that for me? What, in your opinion, was unusual?

Dr. MANNO. About the process?

Mr. WEISS. Yes. Right.

Dr. MANNO. Reached in making a decision about Facing History?

Mr. WEISS. Right.

Dr. MANNO. I did think that it was a bit unusual that a conversation occurred between Dr. Curry and Mr. Kristol.

Mr. WEISS. About that?

Dr. MANNO. Yes.

Mr. WEISS. Now, where do you fit into the chain of command here?

Dr. MANNO. I will use some bureaucratic language to explain that.

Mr. WEISS. Please.

Dr. MANNO. There is an Assistant Secretary, who at that time was Dr. Finn. There was a Deputy for Policy and Planning, who at that time was Mr. Preston.

Then there was a Director of Operations, who at that time was a gentleman by the name of Mr. Gonzmart. There was no Deputy Assistant Secretary for Operations at that time.

My formal title at that time was Chief of Staff. That responsibility involved coordinating on a day-to-day basis the internal operations of OERI.

That included things like budget, planning, procurement issues, FTE, S&E Budget, as opposed to the program budget. So it involved working with a variety of staff people who performed those functions. And my primary responsibility was to make sure that the system worked, that the place moved on a day-to-day basis.

Mr. WEISS. And when you did have the conversation with Dr. Finn about how unusual you thought, was the discussion between Dr. Curry and Mr. Kristol——

Dr. MANNO. Sir, I did not say that, and if this is the impression I gave, I want to correct it. I did not say I had a discussion with Dr. Finn about how unusual it was that a conversation took place between Dr. Curry and Mr. Kristol. I found out about that conversation later.

I did not have a conversation with Dr. Finn on the conversation, because I didn't know, in fact, that a conversation had occurred until after the fact.

Mr. WEISS. I am trying to establish for the record what, in fact, the conversation was and what the substance of the conversation was between you and Dr. Finn.

Dr. MANNO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WEISS. So could you enlighten us on that?

Dr. MANNO. My recollection of the conversation was that, it was probably less than 15 seconds, and it was within the context of a variety of other issues.

Dr. Finn and I had sometimes daily conversations about a variety of issues, related to the day-to-day operations of OERI. The context was probably the procurement schedules and keeping track of the procurement schedules because this slate was a slate that had a schedule that needed to be met. The context would have been the day-to-day situation at OERI in meeting the schedule. In fact, it probably was on why there was some delay in the program in sending forth the developer demonstrator slate related to the competition that is being discussed.

Mr. WEISS. Right, and specifically as it related to Facing History.

Dr. MANNO. Not Facing History as such, but the competition part of which included, of course, Facing History.

Mr. WEISS. So, what I don't understand, here we have a subject matter which is not to put too fine a point on it, controversial within some aspects within the Department of Education?

Dr. MANNO. Correct.

Mr. WEISS. And there are discussions going all the way up to the Chief of Staff of the Secretary of Education about it. It is not a matter that is just handled, "on the basis of professional judgment."

It is handled on the basis of what will the Secretary think about it, or what will the Chief of Staff think about it. And here you are having some conversation about it with Dr. Finn, who was in that line of operation, and yet, we can't tie down what went on, although quite clearly something went on and some signals were being sent.

And the conclusion that I draw, and nothing that I have heard from the witness' table dispels it, is that it was felt that there were people of sufficient stature outside of the Department of Education, to name one, Ms. Schlafly, who were so exercised by the possibility of this program being funded, that no matter what the scoring or the rating was going to be, for the sake of keeping peace within an aspect of the family of the administration, there was going to be no funding for Facing History. That is the sense that I get. And I would like to be able to have somebody dispel that by saying, oh, no, we went and spoke to Mr. Kristol about it and he said none of that stuff—we don't care what Ms. Schlafly said, this is all being done on the record.

Nobody comes forward and says what happened. What we have on the record is all these intimations about objectivity or lack of it because of Nazis and Ku Klux Klan and antiwar and anti-Christian, and Ms. Schlafly's letter.

If you can help to dispel any of that for the record, now is the time to do it. Otherwise I am left to draw my own conclusions as I have said I do.

Dr. MANNO. I think you need to keep in mind, and perhaps this is a clarification of my role in this general process, that I was not responsible for making policy decisions in any general sense of the word. Oftentimes I was not involved in discussions on NDN.

In fact, the Deputy for Policy took it upon himself in a special way to be involved in all discussions related to the NDN, including the development of regulations. This was his special purview.

So a passing reference to a procurement item in the course of a conversation with Dr. Finn would not have been unusual. That would have been pretty much the general state of events.

Mr. WEISS. So in any event, there is no way—you are in no position to shed any light on this, because that was not really within your responsibilities, to be familiar with the specifics of what was going on?

Dr. MANNO. No, unless it pertained to schedules or those types of activities.

Mr. WEISS. OK. Again, I have no further questions.

If any of the panelists wish to make any closing statement, this is a good time to do it.

Dr. CURRY. I have one, sir.

Mr. WEISS. Dr. Curry.

Dr. CURRY. I strongly support Holocaust education.

Mr. WEISS. Well, you know the old saying, pretty is as pretty does.

I thank you very much.

Dr. CURRY. I am pleased to be working to get the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council to be part of the National Diffusion Network.

Dr. MANNO. Sir, may I respond to your invitation?

Just a brief comment.

I would like to reiterate the two points I made in my opening statement.

Namely, that Facing History is part of the NDN network of programs. In fact, it has been for quite some time.

And second: The Department has never denied the application of Facing History, based on the program's alleged to Christians, and the Department has consistently and continues to reject the comments made by Christina Price on this program.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you very much.

The record will speak for itself at this point.

I add my appreciation to all of you for participating in my hearing today.

Our second panel is comprised of Margot Stern Strom, director of Facing History and Ourselves, and Max McConkey, director, National Dissemination Study Group.

Would you please approach the witness table?

Do you affirm that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Let the record indicate that each of the witnesses responded in the affirmative.

We are pleased that you are able to rearrange your schedules to be with us on relatively short notice. And Ms. Strom I think we will begin with your testimony, if that is all right?

Ms. STROM. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WEISS. Do you want to go first?

Mr. MCCONKEY. We were discussing that.

Ms. STROM. Will I have an opportunity to respond when he is finished?

Mr. WEISS. Of course.

If you prefer to have Mr. McConkey go first, that is all right, too. As a matter of convenience, I called on you first because your name is listed first on my sheet.

Ms. STROM. The chronology of events Mr. McConkey will give will be helpful.

STATEMENT OF MAX McCONKEY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL DISSEMINATION STUDY GROUP

Mr. MCCONKEY. I ask that my prepared statement be made part of the record.

Mr. WEISS. Without objection, that will be done.

Mr. MCCONKEY. I am David Max McConkey, executive director of the National Dissemination Study Group, a nonprofit association of educators from throughout the country. The study group's purpose is to promote school improvement through the dissemination of educational practices that have proven to be successful. The special area of interest for our association is the National Diffusion Network.

We appreciate the invitation to testify. We, in our association, consider this testimony as a form of protest against a series of injustices committed at the U.S. Department of Education. While the denial of funds to the Facing History, Holocaust education program is the single most outrageous example of the Department of Education's abuse of authority, it is only one example.

And I would like to focus—with Ms. Strom talking about the particular Facing History issue—on my association's perspective on the larger context: on abuses as they relate to the peer review process.

The injustices that have occurred are not only the denial of the Facing History project, but the development by the Department of an elaborate coverup, pieces of which were revealed in testimony that you just received, and subsequent decisions by the Department to deny eight other deserving grant applicants in addition to Facing History, the support that they earned in order to cover up the specific decision to keep Facing History from being funded.

But I think that the principal injustice, and I think Mr. Yates spoke to this, just a few minutes ago, is the sad case of a process of fair and equitable treatment that American citizens and grant applicants can expect from the U.S. Government being violated.

I won't go into great detail, but my statement has a chronology of or description of the process applicants go through in the National Diffusion Network. I realize from this morning's testimony that these various phases are somewhat confusing.

In order for a project to be included in the National Diffusion Network, it needs to be a practice that was developed locally. It needs to have had a careful evaluation and have had the outcome of that evaluation presented to a Federal panel, which reviews and makes decisions about how exemplary the program is. Then, and only then, after that process has been completed and the project has passed that scrutiny, does it become part of the National Diffusion Network.

Dr. Manno mentioned on a couple of occasions that Facing History is part of the National Diffusion Network. It is, indeed, because it went through that initial process, and so did over 400 other programs since 1974, since the National Diffusion Network was created. That doesn't imply any kind of funding, and many of these

NDN programs are unable to be disseminated because they don't have any support.

Others have some support from other sources; there is a whole range in that 400. Facing History has applied unsuccessfully, as you heard already this morning, for funding on a number of occasions.

My association works very closely with the Department and has a great deal of respect for the people within the Education Department, but we have noted a troubling trend in which the Facing History story is but one example. I would like to start back in 1983 when the Assistant Secretary of Education, Donald Senese, abruptly ended the funding of 13 of these NDN developer demonstrator projects.

He similarly halted the funding of three more grants that were already in operation, a year later. The Assistant Secretary's stated reasons for arbitrarily canceling these Federal grants, was that he alone had concluded that their continuation was, "not in the best interest of the government."

I might note that some of the programs that he canceled at that time were drug education programs which he considered to be offensive to his conservative constituency. Only 2 years later the administration concluded that drug education was, in fact, a priority, and they were then put in the position of needing to support the programs which Dr. Senese had canceled just a few years before.

Dr. Senese's explanation for canceling them really marked our entry into a period when the Department of Education began to condone arbitrary and capricious grant funding decisions by political appointees determined to impose their own ideological bias on American education. When the new Secretary, William Bennett, announced a reorganization of the Department, Chester Finn replaced Donald Senese. NDN was transferred to the newly created Office of Educational Research and Improvement. Finn imposed a set of new steps within OERI that had great impact on the Department's procedures for allowing grant applications to be evaluated by a panel of reviewers.

They are called "peer reviewers," as Mr. Yates noted, because they are presumably representative, they have expertise in the fields of education, and they are nominated because of their substantive qualifications.

Among Dr. Finn's innovations was the requirement that all field reviews be approved personally by him. By the time Shirley Curry joined OERI in 1986, as the first permanent director of the new Recognition Division, the stage had been set for the direct manipulation of what had traditionally been in a reasonably equitable, objective process used by the Department for reviewing grant applications and making funding award decisions.

It is clear that the grant reviewers employed by OERI's Recognition Division to assess the qualifications of applications by Facing History and Ourselves, first in 1986 and then in 1987, were approved, if not hand selected, by Dr. Curry. Indeed, documents that my association was provided by the Department through a Freedom of Information Act request show that a review panel, apparently assembled by Curry in December 1986 included at least four

of six reviewers who were Curry friends, associates, or contacts—including Christina Price.

In fact, the way Assistant Secretary Finn and those around him managed this grant review process was seen as such a problem that the Senate report accompanying the fiscal year 1988, Labor, HHS appropriations bill for education contained the following language. "The Appropriations Committee continues to be concerned about the integrity of peer review procedures used by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement.

"During the fiscal year 1988 hearing, the committee uncovered practices by an Assistant Secretary—Dr. Finn—who used his authority in an attempt to influence the outcome of the process by encouraging the selection of reviewers known to be favorable to a particular proposal.

"The committee, therefore, expects the Secretary to monitor personally all review procedures at OERI."

So, meanwhile, as you heard this morning, OERI, in addition to these peer review violations, was attempting to institutionalize the ideological review of all future National Diffusion Network grants. This device was called the program significance panel review.

In essence, the PSP was a panel whose job it was to impose panelists' own judgments about what was "appropriate" for funding by the Federal Government.

The very concept of this panel flew in the face of the underlying philosophy of the National Diffusion Network, that the Federal Government plays but two roles with respect to the dissemination of locally developed school improvement programs.

The first is to assess whether the program has been effective at the site where it was developed, and the second is to provide some financial support for the dissemination.

The decision about whether to adopt an NDN program—or, for that matter, whether the program is appropriate for adoption—has always been made by each, individual, school—its teachers, administrators, parents, and school boards.

It was, in fact, preliminary versions of the Program Significance Panel that originally kept Facing History from being successfully nominated for funding.

Over the objections of nearly 300 educators, plus nearly 100 Members of Congress, all of whom wrote the Education Department last year to protest the inclusion of the Program Significance Panel in the NDN regulations, the Department decisionmakers made the PSP a permanent part of the grant application review process, in August 1987. Congress stepped in, however, and, in technical amendments to the reauthorization of the NDN earlier this year, H.R. 5, abolished the Significance Panel.

With OERI on notice that its selection of peer reviewers was under careful scrutiny, the Program Significance Panel abolished, and media attention having been focused on previous "unfair to Nazi" Department reviews of Facing History, my association expected a reasonably fair grant review process to be conducted this year. As it turned out, we were quite naive in holding those expectations.

It appears that, being dead-set against funding Facing History, Dr. Curry manipulated the peer review process this year so as to

keep that program from being funded. But, in addition to that, the fallout is nearly as bad as the case in 1983 with Dr. Senese.

Now none of the developer-demonstrator applicants in five different categories, that had been previously determined by the Secretary to be priorities, have received support.

These applicants received a cumulative average grant review score of 86, of a possible 100, with average scores for some of these programs that are now being denied funding as high as 93, 94, and 95.

These projects are in important educational priority areas as identified by the Secretary, like adult literacy, and comprehension analysis and problem solving. One project, in the gifted and talented category, received more program adoptions in the National Diffusion Network last year than any other program, but was denied funding because of this whole scheme.

The services of these exemplary programs are desperately needed by the American schools, but they are not to be funded this year.

The reason seems to be fairly clear. Phyllis Schlafly, head of the Eagle Forum and a leader of a far right political movement, has deemed one of these projects, Facing History, as unacceptable to her. Unfortunately, seven other deserving projects seem to have gotten in the way of Dr. Curry as she has attempted to find some legitimate way to satisfy the demands of Ms. Schlafly.

It was certainly appropriate for Ms. Schlafly, as a citizen, to express her opinion to Government officials, but Dr. Curry and other Department political appointees have a responsibility that Ms. Schlafly does not have. They are Government officials entrusted to follow rules and to act in such matters fairly and decently, and all evidence uncovered to date suggests they did not.

The steps that Dr. Curry took last summer, which I have termed "Grantscam," apparently started with the recognition that to keep Facing History from being funded would require action that would certainly call attention to itself given the publicity in the newspapers last year.

So a decision apparently was made, with approvals from officials at the highest level of the Department, apparently, that entire categories of projects would not be funded so as to disguise the attempt to get one particular project.

Because of this so-called policy decision, Department officials were able to announce, again today, that despite receiving a No. 1 rating in its category, in a category that the Secretary had deemed to be among the highest priorities for this year, the Department has chosen not to fund any projects in the history, geography, and civics category.

The decision to not fund was not made until after Facing History, with proposal review scores averaging 89, including one score of 97, emerged as an approved applicant for NDN support.

But apparently Department officials believed that a move to deny funding to DD applicants only in the history, geography, and civics category would also appear transparent, so they seem to have tried to cover that objective by moving to eliminate a few other entire DD funding categories as well.

The move provided Dr. Curry with an opportunity she had needed to take complete control, or she wanted apparently to take

complete control, over the selection and deselection of developer-demonstrator applications, despite peer review, their ratings, and rankings. Whatever her motivations, she chose seven other projects in four other categories, including another one in the history, geography, and civics category, to be cut.

If these actions, a series of actions by Dr. Senese, Dr. Curry and others, go unchallenged, we believe that dangerous precedents will have been set for future administrations.

Political appointees will feel comfortable using the Federal grant and contracts procedures for rewarding their friends, for pursuing their own particular ideological perspectives, however narrow.

The NDN is already suffering and American schools will be the ultimate losers. No longer will the schools have made available for them a wide variety, a wide array of exemplary program choices. The Federal Government, in the persons of the Department of Education Assistant Secretary and the Division Directors, will be making those choices for them. Ironically, the Big Brother, whom this administration has so often warned us about, may have arrived already because of its actions.

Justice Louis Brandeis wrote that "the greater dangers to liberty lurk in the insidious encroachment of men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding."

The National Diffusion Network is a superb program. It brings exemplary school improvement developments to teachers and classrooms that need them, but it has been ill-served by political partisans disguised as educational experts within the U.S. Department of Education.

Too often within the past 5 years the Department's management positions have been filled with zealots, "well-meaning but without understanding."

We believe, with Justice Brandeis, that they pose "great danger to our liberty."

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. McConkey follows:]

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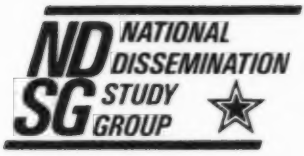

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OPENING STATEMENT BY: DAVID MAX McCONKEY,
NATIONAL DISSEMINATION STUDY GROUP,
before the
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RESOURCES AND
INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS
of the
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
19 October 1988

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

I am David Max McConkey, Executive Director of the National Dissemination Study Group, a non-profit, association of educators from throughout the country. The Study Group's purpose is to promote school improvement through the dissemination of educational practices that have proven to be successful. The special area of interest for our association is the National Diffusion Network.

We appreciate your invitation to testify. I see my testimony in the form of a protest against injustice, because it is a whole series of injustices that have been committed at the United States Department of Education within the past few months and years that bring us together in this hearing room today.

Specifically, these injustices include --

- the denial of National Diffusion Network funds to the deserving Holocaust education program, *Facing History and Ourselves*, which, according to an objective assessment of criteria developed by the Department, was deserving of that support;

- the development by Department officials of a cover-up scheme to disguise their actual reason for denying *Facing History* the federal grant it deserved; and,

- the subsequent decision by the Department to keep eight other deserving grant applicants, in addition to *Facing History*, the support they each earned.

The principal injustice that has been inflicted in this sad case is against the processes of fair and equitable treatment that American citizens expect from the United States Government.

In July, then-Education Secretary William J. Bennett was quoted in *USA Today* magazine as saying about the definition of "good character",

> *...we should include specific traits such as thoughtfulness, fidelity, kindness, diligence, honesty, fairness, self-discipline, respect for law, and taking one's guidance by accepted and tested standards of right and wrong, rather than by, for example, one's personal preferences.*

Using Secretary Bennett's definition, I, as an educator, would have to give the officials in the Department that he administered an "F" in character. They have substituted deceptiveness for honesty, bias and subjectivity for fairness, and manipulation of technical regulations for respect of law. Further, rather than "taking [as their] guidance...accepted and tested standards of right and wrong," they have substituted their "own personal preferences" and those of their friends from fringe political groups outside of the Department.

Allow me to back up, and first explain what the National Diffusion Network is. The NDN, reauthorized earlier this year as a result of the passage of the Hawkins- Stafford School Improvement Act, is a program created in 1974 and administered first through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Office of Education, later through the Department of Education's Office of Educational Research and Improvement. The NDN is designed to carry out the Congressional mandate to improve educational quality through the dissemination of exemplary programs to school districts throughout the nation -- thus promoting and encouraging excellence in education.

The National Diffusion Network

The National Diffusion Network operates through two basic components -- State Facilitators and Developer Demonstrators. State Facilitators, located in every state, provide information about education programs to public school districts (as well as to private and parochial schools) seeking to improve their educational practices. Developer Demonstrators are projects throughout the country that represent locally- developed, thoroughly implemented and evaluated, exemplary school improvement practices. Each program has been selected by a special federal board; this group (once titled the Joint Dissemination Review Panel, now called the Program Effectiveness Panel), which provides a thorough, non-political, expert, and objective assessment of each project, certifies the effectiveness of successful applicants.

These exemplary school improvement practices -- nearly 450 in all have been validated as exemplary since the NDN began -- are made available for dissemination through this national system. While limited resources have meant, unfortunately, that the Education Department is only able to fund, on average, a total of about 85 Developer Demonstrator awards each year, all active, validated programs are described in a catalogue -- "*Educational Programs That Work*" -- sponsored by our professional association. The catalogue lists projects in writing, mathematics, reading, early childhood education, humanities, science, special education, bilingual and migrant education, and approximately 60 other categories.

Essentially the National Diffusion Network is successful American teachers helping other teachers duplicate their achievements.

In 1975 about 15,000 teachers, serving some 375,000 students, were trained by National Diffusion Network grantees. By the mid-to-late-1980s, an average of over 60,000 teachers a year -- in 22,000 schools, reaching an estimated 2,500,000 U.S. school children -- are provided new skills through the training provided by the dedicated staff of validated NDN projects across the country.

The NDN is an enormously effective and cost-efficient system for the improvement of America's schools. Long before the phrase "What Works" became a popular phrase in the Education Department, the National Diffusion Network was proving that school programs that work can be transplanted elsewhere with a *duplication of the same successes* (for example, in student achievement) achieved by the original developer.

Our professional association, the National Dissemination Study Group, which represents the men and women who operate the National Diffusion Network grants, as well as educators in the

schools that these programs serve throughout the country, works with -- and, over time, has been largely supportive of -- the U.S. Education Department in its management of the NDN. A number of events have occurred in the past few years, unfortunately, that have shaken our confidence in the Department's intention to objectively and fairly administer the program.

History of bias

Back in 1983, then Department of Education Assistant Secretary Donald Senese abruptly ended the funding of 13 Developer Demonstrator projects. [He similarly halted funding to three more DDs a year later, in May 1984.] The Assistant Secretary's stated reasons for arbitrarily cancelling these federal grants was that he, alone, had concluded that their continuation was "not in the best interests of the government." Period. That explanation marked our entry into a period when the Department of Education began to condone arbitrary and capricious grant funding decisions by political appointees determined to impose their ideological biases on American education.

When new Education Secretary William Bennett announced a reorganization of the Department, Chester Finn replaced Donald Senese, and the NDN was transferred to the newly created Office of Educational Research and Improvement. Finn imposed a set of new steps within OERI that had great impact on the Department's procedures for allowing grant applications to be reviewed by a panel of reviewers -- "peer" reviewers they are called because most of them represent expertise in the various education fields and are nominated because of their substantive qualifications to assess the quality of the applications.

Among Finn's innovations was the requirement that all field reviewers be approved personally by him. By the time Shirley Curry joined OERI in 1986 as the first permanent director of the office's Recognition Division, the stage had been set for direct manipulation of what has traditionally been a reasonably equitable, objective process used by the Department for reviewing grant applications and making funding award decisions.

It is clear that the grant reviewers employed by OERI's Recognition Division to assess the qualifications of applications by *Facing History and Ourselves*, first in 1986 and then in 1987, were approved, if not hand-selected, by Curry. Indeed, documents that my association was provided by the Department (through a Freedom of Information Act request) show that at a review panel assembled by Curry in December 1986, at least four of the six reviewers were Curry friends, associates, or contacts. [The testimony here today by *Facing History*'s director, Margot Strom, will further deal with the facts surrounding that project's reviews.]

Finn and peer review

In fact, the extent to which Assistant Secretary Finn and those around him managed the grant and contract review process was seen as such a problem by Congress that the Senate report [100-189] accompanying the FY 88 Labor-HHS- Education Appropriations bill contained the following language --

> *The [Appropriations] Committee continues to be concerned about the integrity of peer review procedures used by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement. During the fiscal year 1988 hearing, the Committee uncovered practices by an assistant secretary* [Finn] *who used his authority in an attempt to influence the outcome of the process by encouraging the selection of reviewers known to be favorable to a particular proposal.*
>
> *The Committee, therefore, expects the Secretary* [Bennett] *to monitor personally all review procedures of the OERI during fiscal year 1988 to ensure that Department officials follow the spirit and the intent of the peer-review selection process."*

Meanwhile, OERI was making an attempt to institutionalize a process for the subjective, potentially ideological review of all future NDN Developer Demonstrator grants. The device was a Program Significance Panel review, in essence a panel whose job it was to impose their own judgements about what was "appropriate" for funding by the federal government.

The very concept of this panel flew in the face of the underlying philosophy of the National Diffusion Network, that the federal government plays but two roles with respect to the dissemination of locally developed school improvement programs. The first is to assess whether the program has been *effective* at the site where it was developed, and the second, is to provide some financial support for the dissemination. The decision about whether to adopt an NDN program -- or, for that matter, whether the program is *appropriate* for adoption -- has always been made by each, individual, school -- its teachers, administrators, parents, and school boards. (It was, in fact, preliminary versions of the Program Significant Panel, that orginally kept *Facing History* from being successfully nominated for funding.)

Over the objections of nearly 300 educators, plus nearly 100 Members of Congress, all of whom wrote to the Education Department last year to protest the inclusion of the Program Significance Panel in the NDN regulations, the Department decision makers made the PSP a permanent part of the grant application review process, in August 1987. Congress stepped in, however, and, in technical amendments to the reauthorization of the NDN earlier this year [in HR 5], abolished the Significance Panel.

With OERI on notice that its selection of peer-reviewers was under careful scrutiny, the Program Significance Panel abolished, and media attention having been focused on previous ("unfair to Nazi") Department reviews of *Facing History*, my association expected a reasonably fair grant review process to be conducted this year. As it turned out, we were quite naive in holding those expectations.

Being absolutely dead set against funding *Facing History*, back in the loop for its third successive try at receiving NDN support, Curry apparently so completely manipulated the peer-review process this year that the fall-out is as bad as at any time since 1983: nine Developer-Demonstrator applicants in five program categories determined to be "priorities" by the Secretary have been denied support. These applicants received a cumulative, average grant review score of 86 [of a possible 100], with average scores for some of them as high as 93, 94, and 95. Among these projects, in important educational program categories like Adult Literacy, Comprehension, Analysis, and Problem Solving; and, Gifted and Talented, a category in which there is a project that received more program adoptions last year than any other grantee in the National Diffusion Network.

The services of these exemplary projects are desperately needed by American schools. But they will not be supported by the NDN this year, and the reason is fairly clear: Phyllis Schlafly, the head of the "Eagle Forum," and a leader of a Far Right political movement, has deemed one of these projects, *Facing History*, as unacceptable to her. Unfortunately, seven other deserving projects seem to have gotten in Dr. Curry's way as she has attempted to find a means to legitimately satisfy the demands of Mrs. Schlafly, who had expressed her bias against *Facing History* in a 1987 letter to Secretary Bennett's Chief of Staff, William Kristol.

It is certainly appropriate for Mrs. Schlafly, as a citizen, to express her opinions to governmental officials. But Dr. Curry and the other Department political appointees have a responsibility Mrs. Schlafly does not have; they are government officials entrusted to follow rules and to act in such matters fairly and decently. All evidence uncovered to date suggests that they did not.

"Grantscam"

The steps Dr. Curry took this summer, which I call, "Grantscam," apparently started with a recognition that to keep *Facing History* from being funded would require action that would call attention to her motives. So, a decision was apparently made, with approval from officials at high levels in the Department, that entire categories of projects would not be funded. Because of this "policy" decision, Department officials are able to announce -- presumably with straight faces -- that *Facing History*, for example, despite receiving a #1 rating in its category, will not be funded in 1988 because the Department has chosen not to fund any projects in the "History, Geography, and Civics" category.

Of course, the decision to deny funding to entire categories of projects was not made until after *Facing History* -- with proposal review scores averaging 89 [of 100], including one score of 97 -- emerged as an approved applicant for NDN support.

But, apparently Department officials believed that a move to deny funding to DD applicants only in the "History, Geography and Civics" category would also appear transparent, so they seem to have tried to cover that objective by moving to eliminate a few other entire DD funding categories as well.

Such a move must have provided Curry just the means she needed to take complete control over the selection and de-selection of DD applicants, regardless of peer review, ratings, and rankings. Whatever her motivations, she chose seven other projects in four other categories (one other to-be-approved applicant in the "History, Geography and Civics" priority area had also been cut when that category was eliminated).

Among the categories chosen was "Adult Literacy," with only one approved applicant -- experienced NDN project CASAS, which had an average review score of 93; and "Gifted and Talented," which had as successful applicants three veteran DDs, including *Project SAGE*, with over 700 NDN adoptions last year and an average review score of 94. Now, also de-funded was DD veteran *Project CLIMB*, which had received one of the season's highest external review scores (surpassed by only two other applicants) -- an 89, a 99, and a 100, for an average score of 96. Other successful DD projects would also fall, including *Talents Unlimited*, one of the original (1974) NDN projects and one of the most popular, with nearly 900 school adoptions during the most recent reporting school year.

Allegiance to a radical conservative ideological philosophy is the principal justification the Department officials may give privately for their successful efforts to again deny *Facing History and Ourselves* DD funding. But vengeance against projects that actively fought the Department's Program Significance Panel and other proposed regulatory features last year may be behind some of these moves.

Activist DD Barbara Brenner of New Jersey, director of *Project CLIMB*, last year single-handedly organized the greatest number of letters -- from adopters, educational supporters, Members of Congress and others -- in opposition to ED-proposed NDN regulations developed or supported by Shirley Curry.

Conclusion

Whatever the explanations, what we observe here is a cynical (and to date successful) attempt by political appointees within the U.S. Education Department to to circumvent an established set of processes -- ones which they originally invented and to which they continue to pay lip-service -- the peer-review assessment of grant applications and fair and equitable funding decisions based on those reviews.

If the actions of Senese, Curry, and others go unchallenged, dangerous precedents may have already been set for future Administrations. Political appointees will feel comfortable using the federal grant and contracts procedures for rewarding friends, and for pursuing their own particular ideological perspectives, however narrow. The NDN is already suffering, and America's schools will be the ultimate losers. No longer will they have made available for them a wide array of exemplary program choices. The federal government, in the persons of the Department of Education's assistant secretaries and division directors, will be making those choices for them. Ironically, the Big Brother, whom this Administration has so often warned us about, may have arrived already because of its actions.

Justice Louis Brandeis wrote that "the greater dangers to liberty lurk in the insidious encroachment of men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding." The National Diffusion Network, a superb program, bringing exemplary school improvement developments to the teachers and classrooms that need them, has been ill-served by political partisans disguised as educational experts within the United States Department of Education.

Too often within the past five years the Department's management positions have been filled with zealots, "well-meaning but without understanding." They have done much harm, and, as Justice Brandeis recognized, we believe that they pose great danger to our liberty.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

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Mr. WEISS. Thank you, Mr. McConkey.
Ms. Strom.

STATEMENT OF MARGOT STERN STROM, DIRECTOR, FACING HISTORY AND OURSELVES

Ms. STROM. I will be brief.

My name is Margot Stern Strom, executive director of Facing History and Ourselves, National Foundation, Inc. I am asking that you put my statement in the record, please.

I would also like to enter the statement of one of our board of directors, Allan Ryan, who was with the U.S. Justice Department from 1980 to 1983 in charge of investigating Nazi war criminals——

Mr. WEISS. That, too, will be entered in the record.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Ryan follows:]

STATEMENT OF ALLAN A. RYAN, JR.
TO THE HUMAN RESOURCES SUBCOMMITTEE
OF THE HOUSE GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS COMMITTEE
OCTOBER 19, 1988

Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for inviting me to testify before this subcommittee. I regret that an unmovable commitment at Harvard prevents my appearing personally before you this morning, and I appreciate the opportunity to submit this statement.

From 1980 until 1983, I was the director of the Office of Special Investigations, U.S. Department of Justice, and as such I was responsible for carrying out the Congressional mandate to investigate and prosecute Nazi war criminals in this country. In 1983, I served as special assistant to the Attorney General and carried out the investigation of Klaus Barbie's ties to American intelligence after World War II.

For the past several years, I have been in the Office of General Counsel of Harvard University, but I have continued to write and lecture on Nazis in America and, more generally, on the American response to the Holocaust during and after it happened.

I am also a member of the Board of Directors of Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Inc., and it is in that capacity that I submit this statement. I have been affiliated with Facing History and Ourselves because I believe deeply that young people in our country must be taught the awful consequence of racial and religious prejudice, and must learn to recognize and fight it in their own lives.

This is, of course, an issue that touches all of us -- black and white, Christian and Jew, young and old. But especially the young, for it is then that attitudes of tolerance, understanding, and concern for others are formed. I believe in a very simple formula: if we can teach our children to understand and respect those whose race or religion is different from their own, and if we can teach them to recognize the corrosive and often tragic consequences of bigotry, we will bring up a generation of adults who hate nothing but hatred itself, who understand the meaning of tolerance and respect, and who will pass those values on to their own children.

This is hard work. Platitudes don't last. Children themselves, and especially blacks, Hispanics and other minorities, understand all too soon and too well what prejudice means. Many children who are not normally victims of prejudice all too soon take on the mantle of intolerance because no one has taught them differently.

Facing History and Ourselves tries to break that chain. We have no political agenda. We are neither a liberal organization nor a conservative one. We are liberals, conservatives, Republicans, Democrats, blacks, Jews, Christians, old and young, working together in our common belief that as Americans we must teach our children that bigotry and intolerance have no place in their generation, in our community, or in our nation.

We work in the schools, at the request of -- and with the indispensable support of -- teachers, administrators and community leaders who recognize the need for this education but who often do not have the time, the expertise, or the money to develop it on their own. We subscribe to no educational theory except the one that believes that if teachers bring serious matters before their students and discuss them in a serious,

thoughtful way, the students will respond. We don't believe in scaring or disturbing students; we believe in educating them in history and in current events so that they will understand that they do not live in a vacuum.

To do this, we work primarily with their own teachers, because we believe that those teachers are best qualified to relate the lessons of history to the problems their students experience from day to day. I may be a poor teacher for Hispanic students in East Los Angeles, but I and my colleagues at Facing History can work together with the teachers in East Los Angeles and elsewhere who are looking for ways to bring the lessons of history home to their classrooms. Last summer, at a Facing History workshop in Boston, a teacher from Texas approached me after a discussion and said, simply, "I understand this better now." That's why we do what we do.

All this costs money. We pay our staff -- most of whom are former teachers and administrators themselves -- modestly, but the money has to come from somewhere. We are fortunate in having been able to raise some funds privately, and we will continue to do so, but the loss of dissemination funding through the Department of Education's National Diffusion Network has hurt. We are particularly disappointed in the

funding cutoff because the Facing History curriculum had received such outstanding marks from the professional educators who had reviewed it and from those in the Department who had worked most closely with us. I respectfully urge this subcommittee to use its oversight responsibilities to see that the Department's decision is thoroughly scrutinized.

Over 40 years ago, Justice Robert H. Jackson, chief American prosecutor at the trial of the major Nazi war criminals at Nuremburg, told the International Military Tribunal, "The wrongs which we seek to condemn and punish have been so calculated, so malignant and so devastating that civilization cannot tolerate their being ignored because it cannot survive their being repeated."

The purpose of education is to drive out ignorance, where the malignancies of bigotry and hatred flourish. This is not a job for us as Jews or Christians, as black or white, as liberals or conservatives. It is a job for us as Americans. We believe we can do it, because we cannot afford to believe anything else. Please give us, and more importantly the teachers in our communities -- your communities -- the support we need.

Ms. STROM. Would you also put in the record the letters of teachers, parents, and students which appear in a packet we brought with us that is available for you and I might add these parents, these students and administrators come from schools in Albuquerque and southwest of California, and Chicago and Memphis, TN, the Smokey Mountains, across the country.

[The letters referred to are in app. 1, p. 106.]

Ms. STROM. I could sing the song to you from coast-to-coast. I would also like to recognize, if you would, the people who are in this room, persons who speak in classrooms across the country, one of whom, Leon Bass, recently spoke when President Reagan spoke at the Holocaust Memorial Council's laying of a cornerstone for the U.S. Holocaust Museum.

This man is one of the men who goes into the classrooms where often there are more police in the classroom hallways than there are teachers. He has visited in South Boston High School for Facing History often.

Mr. WEISS. I have heard you speak. Thank you.

Ms. STROM. He was at Buchenwald as an American soldier in World War II and goes into a classroom where people ask is this our history and he discusses that question with them. He has been in Memphis and Palm Beach, Philadelphia, and so on.

Other people in this office come from Virginia and Maryland. They are regional coordinators, people who have seen Facing History in action and I appreciate the colleagueship and their support here.

I also want to thank you for showing the video tape of Facing History and that is where I will begin and end very quickly, so I can answer your questions.

The video tape that you saw was a short visit to Facing History. It gives you some idea of how we allow teachers to come to seminars, to institutes and workshops to sit with people from the clergy, parents and often young students from junior high and high school and college to learn about this history, to think about a methodology and then to decide what kind of program they would like to take back to their own school community.

It is very important that you know that there is no packaged curriculum. Facing History and Ourselves produces a miniencyclopedia; we call it a resource book because text books have been dumbed down and are inadequate. In that resource book we reproduce the comments of teachers, students, gentiles, Jews, blacks, whites and it is continually revised with the comments of the parents, adults and teachers.

We also give the scholarship of the history—the latest scholarship, if we can, on such issues as America's involvement, why did Truman insist on the Nuremberg trials, what relevance does this history have to the Cambodian genocide. How do people understand anything about what is going on in the Soviet Union now without understanding this history.

So it serves as a resource book for teachers, students and, again, it is not mandated, not required. Some teachers will choose materials from it to create their own course.

We also house a library of materials that teachers cannot afford, materials that have come from television shows. For instance, Bill

Moyer's materials such as "A Walk Through the Twentieth Century" and a video tape of Myan Angelo talking about going into a classroom to tap children's creativity to see them as moral philosophers, materials that Alfred Hitchcock edited for the British when the British and others took extermination camp film and brought it to the public light.

We can bring those materials to classrooms. Teachers do not have those in their own libraries. Facing History's library is national and international and we get private support for that library and for those materials and for that kind of a dissemination effort.

We applied to the National Diffusion Network believing that we were asking for our fair share. We applied according to its regulation.

We were told in 1988, this last application, that history had been chosen as a No. 3 priority, and that Secretary Bennett believed deeply in history and ethics. We were encouraged to apply and promised fair review this time.

We did indeed apply for the third time in the past 5 years. We feel rather brutilized by those comments.

The idea that a reviewer could in their misguided relativism suggest that we should have former Nazis or the Nazi point of view represented in the way that I understand Christina Price suggests is absolutely inappropriate.

I might suggest that most of the film footage that we use in the classroom was the Nazi film footage which they took to document the Third Reich, such films of the Warsaw Ghetto, for example, were documented by the Nazis and it is that kind of film footage used. The Nazi film documents when Hitler asked Eva Braun how did you like "Gone With the Wind," we have that to take into the classroom.

We did not create that film and neither did the American soldiers. That film was created by the Nazis so perhaps that is the Nazi point of view.

I might also suggest to you that when one visits Facing History, one also visits children in Hispanic communities who are sitting in isolation in classrooms with teachers who feel very burned out. These teachers who have said to us the reason they have stayed in teaching is because Facing History has made a difference.

I might also suggest to you if you were to walk into one of those schools in the urban neighborhoods of Boston, you might also like to walk out, but some of those teachers have told us that they are staying there and teaching because Facing History has been able to support them.

When Facing History comes into a school system, it invites the librarian, guidance person, the art teacher and those other school personnel to go to create a course. As professionals they have found a way to integrate materials and be truly interdisciplinary. As a result, students are asked at the end of the course to think about how people memorialize events in history.

During that time they try to figure out why George Washington is dressed in a toga in front of the Senate and talk about monuments. They talk about the Vietnam Memorial, what kind of controversy was there about this monument.

Then they look at the memorials throughout Europe to the concentration camps and then they discuss how education can be a living memorial, a kind of monument.

Art teachers come into the class and deal with propaganda and so on. I would love to be able to continue through this walk-through of Facing History, but I think the best thing I can do is end with two things—actually three.

One is that I would like to request help from the Congress, from you, Chairman Weiss, in discovering some type of funding so those schools that we applied for could indeed get the services of Facing History.

We are talking about schools in the past who applied to use Facing History that serve underserved children. We could not find foundations in their local neighborhoods and their schools to support their requests.

We could not find funding for them and they could not find funding. We are talking about people from rural Maine who asked for this program, people from Albuquerque, NM, who said it dealt with the needs that they had because of racial tension and bigotry and intolerance and we are talking about schools in urban areas that could not find support—and had underserved populations and could not get this funding.

So I would like to request your help in getting this funding or an assurance that there will be fair funding opportunity for Facing History and fair review.

Second, I would like to end with just two more things. The second one would be the notion one of the philosophers who has documented this history, Hannah Arendt, said she sat at the Eichman trial and saw what she saw as the ultimate Socratic evil: Thoughtlessness, and she raised the question after sitting at Eichman's trial, what if we could get people to abstain from evil by getting them to think about thinking, putting themselves in other person's shoes, seeing the world through another person and other people's lens.

I suggest this is one of the guiding principles of Facing History, we really hope that junior high school students will begin to move from the concrete thinking that they have been doing to begin to include some of the abstract thinking that will help them understand the violence that they see on television, the violence that they see around them and they will be able to think about how they can move from perhaps being prejudiced and intolerant to making a difference and being tolerant and I think the quotations we have submitted here will show that students do, in fact, move to becoming a better citizen in a democratic society.

Finally, I would like to end with a very short poem. This is a poem that a principal gives to a teacher at the beginning of every school year and he puts this poem in the mailbox.

It says, "Dear teacher: I am a survivor of a concentration camp. My eyes saw what no man should witness, gas chambers built by learned engineers, children poisoned by educated physicians, infants killed by trained nurses, women and babies shot and burned by high school and college graduates.

"So I am suspicious of education. My request is help your students become human. Your efforts must never produce learned

monsters, skilled psychopaths educated Eichmans. Reading, writing, arithmetic are important only if they serve to make our children more humane."

I might suggest we also believe children should read, write, and do their math. In fact, we have children look at the lesson plans of Nazi Germany where children were asked to draw Semitic features of the Jewish children who were in the art class and later when the Jewish children were removed from class, they were asked to find the perfect Aryian and draw that person. We have videotaped the memories of a child who was in that class talking about the anxiety he had when his teacher didn't look like the perfect Aryian and he didn't know how to get the assignment correct. Erica Mann, daughter of Thomas Mann, has documented those early Nazi lesson plans.

We look at the capabilities of government to commit genocide and then we think about our students learning about the violence around them and on television and we say we have an obligation to try to help them become better citizens.

Thank you.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you both very much.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Strom follows:]

OPENING STATEMENT by MARGOT STERN STROM

FACING HISTORY AND OURSELVES NATIONAL FOUNDATION

before the

SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RESOURCES

AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

of the

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

19 OCTOBER 1988

FACING HISTORY AND OURSELVES NATIONAL FOUNDATION, INC. 25 KENNARD ROAD, BROOKLINE, MA 02146 . 617 232 1595

My name is Margot Stern Strom, Executive Director of Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Inc. Thank you for permitting me to talk with you today about Facing History and Ourselves and its quest for fair treatment from the Department of Education.

Facing History and Ourselves was founded in 1976 to bring an interdisciplinary teacher training history program to educators who wanted their students to learn about the dangers of bigotry, racial and ethnic prejudice, and intolerance in a society. Facing History uses the history of the Holocaust to educate students and teachers about the meaning of human dignity, morality, law, citizenship and human behavior and to help them make connections between history and their own lives. The lessons provided by this piece of 20th century history about bigotry, dehumanization, the roots of violence, individual and collective responsibility are examined to illuminate the role individual citizens have in a democracy to preserve justice. When students learn, for example, that one of the 12 persons put to death at Nuremburg, Julius Striecher editor of a hate promoting magazine, was indicted for turning neighbor against neighbor, breaking the moral backbone of a citizenry, they begin to question the power of words. Violence takes on additional meaning. Through inquiry, analysis and interpretation, students examine actual choices made in history. Events no longer seem inevitable as they confront the range of possible responses

at any given time. By looking at Germany in the 1920s and 1930s as an example of democratic processes gone awry, students begin to explore the roots of hatred, the impact of propaganda, the effect of peer pressure, and the concept of unthinking obedience.

The Facing History program is based upon an ancient and rigorous approach to citizenship education. We encourage teachers to see their students as active learners who explore connections between what they learn in the classroom and the choices they must make in every day life. They need teachers who can facilitate the kind of thinking and judgment which will stay with them for the rest of their lives.

Throughout the Facing History program we suggest a method of inquiry which stimulates students to examine and re-examine their assumptions and the assumptions of others so they can make the type of informed choices necessary for preserving our democratic institutions. Socrates recognized the importance of this kind of education for the citizenry in ancient Athens. Hannah Arendt saw it as a necessary pre condition for civilized life in the 20th century. And the Superintendent of the School Department in York, Maine in a letter to Assistant Secretary Chester Finn speaks to the value of this approach in his community,

> ...I proudly refer to it as an example of our school system's effort to teach relevant historical content in the context of basic moral questions which face civilization now and in the next century just as surely as they faced civilization in the middle third of the present

century. I honestly believe the Facing History curriculum to be one of our best efforts to produce the kind of education in the humanities that you and Secretary Bennett would want to see in our high schools.

The curriculum is balanced and objective primarily because it challenges students to consider the relevance of the historical events of the Holocaust to the social and political context of our present day. The curriculum takes no political stand on these modern issues other than forcefully raising the great moral questions inherent in the course.

From its very beginning, Facing History has provided a teacher training model that involves all educators in a school. Principals, librarians, guidance counselors, art and humanities teachers, along with parents and community leaders participate in our workshops and institutes which are designed to help secondary schools and students explore this history and its implications. Through adult education workshops, special conferences and seminars, Facing History reaches out to invite the full participation of the community.

Since 1976, the Facing History program has reached thousands of teachers and hundreds of thousands of students in 46 states, from inner city schools in Boston, Chicago, Memphis, and Los Angeles, to suburban schools districts in Illinois to rural schools in Maine, New Mexico, East Tennessee, etc. Facing History has been used successfully in a wide variety of settings: mainstream public and private schools; inner-city schools with populations primarily from socioeconomically disadvantaged groups; drop-out and alternative programs; special needs programs. It has proved

replicable, cost effective and responsive to local needs. Between 1977 and 1980, with the help of federal funds under ESEA Title IV C, Facing History developed its original resource materials, trained teachers and began implementing the program in the New England area. At the end of three years of monitoring and evaluation, in 1980, the program was validated by the Joint Dissemination Review Panel as an exemplary model and a program worthy of dissemination across the country, and recertified in 1985.

Facing History* provides schools and teachers with a wide variety of instructional materials including resource manuals, audio visual materials, excerpts from scholarly works and bibliographies. Equally important, we offer educators the chance to come together to meet historians and researchers and discuss the latest scholarship and ideas about educating students to become active participants in a democracy.

The Facing History program focuses on a watershed period of history--the 1930s and 1940s in Europe. Facing History has selected this recent, well-documented historical moment, the era of World War II and the Holocaust, as the core of its program to help teachers teach this period in a more comprehensive manner. Although this history continues to capture the imagination of millions of Americans, as reflected in the amount of scholarship, literature, films and television shows relating to it, it is rarely examined in-depth in the classroom or in teachers' education.

Facing History explores the failure of democracy in the Weimar Republic, the rise of totalitarianism and the genocide of World War II to help students think critically about the opportunities for prevention, the significance of citizen participation in democratic institutions and the role of individuals and groups in government, economics, social systems and religion during the decades of choice before America entered World War II. American presidents and American institutions insisted on bringing judgment to Nuremburg. Now, forty years later, many American educators are seeking information about this history to make it part of their students education.

Like other classic periods in history studied in American classrooms, such as the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution of England and the Renaissance of Europe, the study of the World War II period lends itself to an interdisciplinary approach. Teachers who turn to Shakespeare to enhance the lessons of history and to illuminate questions of power, human behavior and ethics find a similar approach available through the Facing History and Ourselves program. Students participate in learning activities in social studies, literature and art with a concentration on developing reading, writing, discussion, and problem solving skills.

The Facing History program offers seminars and institutes for educators who choose to select this rich historical period to develop a program to match the needs of

their local school system and communities. With Facing History staff, teachers design a program which may supplement or enrich their existing junior high or high school curricula. In workshops and follow-up sessions, teachers choose from a range of resource materials: a mini-encyclopedia style resource book for teachers and/or students, providing historical documentation and introductory materials; an annotated bibliography/filmography for teachers, librarians and media specialists; articles; case studies of teachers using the program and material to guide teachers in the use of videotapes in the teaching of history.

The broader definition of history embraced in the Facing History program engages students of all ages. Yet it has particular attraction for adolescents. The lives of students in this age group are centered in peer groups and mutual relationships. They struggle with issues of trust, loyalty, and responsibility as individuals within groups. If a Holocaust program is to be an integral part of the social studies curriculum for this age group, it must support and challenge students as they are beginning to see themselves as unique individuals, but at the same time boys and girls who desperately need to belong. Such a program must help students whose newly discovered notions of subjectivity raise the problem of differing perspectives, competing "truths", the need to understand motives and consider the intentions of and the abilities of themselves

and others. Adolescence is a time of major developmental transitions. The sort of moral reasoning which ought to be a basic component of adolescent education and which is integral to Facing History, nourishes critical, intellectual, social and ethical development. In our view, Facing History's content is relevant for it corresponds to adolescents' emerging awareness of society and how it works.

Through the use of historical material presented in readings, films and through the eyes of witnesses who visit classes as resource speakers, students become aware of the layers of influence and the range of factors that affect their own lives.

For example, students read the actual lessons plans from Nazi Germany, which were documented by Erica Mann. They learn about the art lesson which asked children in a Nazi German class to draw the non-Aryan features of a Jewish classmate. Students then watch a video excerpt of a Holocaust survivor retelling the humiliation he experienced in one of these classes. He remembers not being able to turn to anyone for help--principal, teacher, police. (This is one of the many video clips made available to Facing History from the Yale archives and which is now part of a companion manual to the resource book.) Finally, students listen to a resource speaker who was raised as a Jehovah's Witness and later joined the Nazi youth after her father was taken away by the Gestapo. Through this varied use of primary source documents and resource speakers students

realize how precious the freedoms we have in our own democracy are. They are asked to think about what constitutes the fundamental beliefs and institutions in the United States which guarantee freedom and justice for all.

Throughout the program students are encouraged to relate the history to their own lives. For instance, while they are studying the chapter on "Preparing for Obedience", they consider the roles that education and mass media play in shaping their attitudes and behavior. Reading about the response of foreign nations to the Holocaust, they wonder what adults in their own families and neighborhoods were doing during World War II. At the close of the course they begin thinking about specific ways in which they can make a difference and prevent the abuse of human rights that occurred in the Hitler era.

A high school teacher, who has worked with Facing History since its origins, identifies how the program's approach addresses the students' needs:

> Facing History and Ourselves is a curriculum that honors duality; process and product, head and heart, history and ethics.

Facing History continually revises its materials. We monitor and gather the responses of teachers and students to the materials so that we can better adapt our program to the needs of their communities. Some teachers use a journal as a way of documenting the progress of the course for their

students and themselves. They record their thinking as they ponder their confrontation with this history.

In some classes, students too keep journals. They respond to readings, films and speakers, writing entries that reflect self-dialogue, individual views on subjects and questions about issues that have sparked their curiosity during the course. For one student, the journal was a "daily reminder so that when class didn't meet or there was no time to discuss something we wanted to, we held our class with our journals."

Not only does every student have his or her own thoughts about the Facing History experience, but parents too record their thoughts. Often we receive letters from parents telling us what they think their child got out of the Facing History course. This is an excerpt from on such letter,

> As my daughter's graduation from high school approaches, we have been talking about the high and low points of her years at school. in fourteen years of school, one experience stands out overwhelmingly as the most valuable, the time spent in "Facing History and Ourselves" when she was in the eighth grade
>
> In no other course was she exposed to real dilemmas as complex and challenging. In no other course has she been inspired to use the whole of her spiritual, moral, and intellectual resources to solve a problem. In no other course has she been so sure that the task mattered seriously for her development as a responsible person.
>
> ...When she took the course in eighth grade she found it hard to respect many adults even harder to talk with them. Facing History enlarged her ability to discuss major issues in a calm and serious way...
>
> The journal-keeping and parent involvement aspects of the course opened many continuing conversations, from which we have all benefited.

> I want you and others responsible for the course to know what a fine job you have done of accomplishing the goals you set for Facing History.

Feedback from students, teachers, and parents suggests that the Facing History program is accomplishing its goals in a variety of educational settings. In some cases, the influence is subtle with students observing that they have begun to think differently about stereotypes and racial slurs and will find it harder to be passive bystanders when they witness acts or words of brutality. In other instances, the changes have been dramatic enough to compel the students to vow that they will take direct steps to combat prejudice and intolerance in their communities.

Teachers often report that their students relate issues raised in this program to their own lives. Each may register the impact at a different point. There is one point, however, at which it is virtually impossible for participants to avoid confronting issues very close to home: any discussion on racism, prejudice or discrimination, in the context of a Facing History unit almost invariably draws parallels to racism within our own society, especially within our schools and neighborhoods.

In all probability, racial slurs, graffiti and fights within the schools and neighborhoods where students have studied the Holocaust and Human Behavior will continue. Nevertheless, program evaluations have demonstrated that students and teachers in the program gain an expanded

awareness of justice issues. One small, but telling indication of the power of the program, occurred when a student taking Facing History erased a swastika from his notebook.

The Facing History program helps revitalize teachers and provide them with information and ideas for their own professional and personal growth as well as for direct classroom use. In addition, through its extensive mailing list and regular quarterly newsletter, Facing History keeps teachers up to date on the development of the program, new materials, and relevant conferences.

I must now turn to the three recent attempts by Facing History to receive federal funding from the Department of Education. In October of 1986, Facing History submitted a proposal for funding. At a conference of National Diffusion Network projects in January of 1987, I was told that the panelists who reviewed the Facing History proposal reported extremely negative comments on the content of the proposal. I also learned that a pilot significance panel had been instituted to review our proposal in addition to the technical review panel. I received copies of the reviews. The comments were beyond my imagination. I met informally with Education Department officials who said they were embarrassed by the nature of the reviews and they encouraged Facing History to reapply and promised a fair review. In July of 1987, we submitted another proposal. In late July, I was called by a reporter who told me that our proposal had

once again been denied. The comments of the reviewers of the two proposals were summarized in a September 1987 article in Education Week. They included the claim that the project "lacks balance"; that it used the same methods to change the thinking of students that Hitler and Goebbels used to propagandize the German people; that the program did not present the Nazi point of view nor that of the Klu Klux Klan, and that while the program may be appropriate for a limited religious audience, it was not suitable for widespread distribution to the schools of the nation." At my request to the Department, I received the scores of the reviews of the first year of the Official Program Significance Panel in 1987. It appears as if the scores for most projects were in the 80's, a few with lower scores. We received a very low score and 2 of 5 panelists said it wasn't appropriate for dissemination. My professional association, the National Dissemination Study Group, concluded that the significance panel which had generated these reviews were an ideological screen to permit the Department to deny funding to Facing History. My own reading of the comments showed an extraordinarily narrow bias on the part of the reviewers.

Phyllis Schlafly in an August 13, 1987 letter to William Kristol, Chief of Staff at the U.S. Department of Education, expressed her opposition to Facing History. The quotations she selected and the comments about Facing History are taken out of context. It is remarkable that the

reviews of the 1986 and 1987 panelists would have ended our hopes for fair treatment by the Department of Education. We do not teach relativism, but the application of basic values--good is good and evil is evil--in the complex and challenging situations which characterize life in modern civilization.

The historic realities of the Nazi era stimulate a response in students totally in keeping with the decision at Nuremburg that blind obedience to evil or dictated authority is wrong. For example, we do not dabble in the misguided relativism of one of the reviewers who would give equal voice to the Nazi and Klan points of view because we firmly believe in liberty and justice for all! We are secure in our belief that these criticisms do not represent a balanced view of the educational issues we as teachers and citizens must confront.

At a National Diffusion Network Conference in February of 1988, Ron Preston, Deputy Secretary of the Office of Education apologized for the treatment of Facing History in the 1986 and 1987 panels. I met with Mr. Preston after his speech, and he told me that he was personally embarrassed by the review process. He encouraged Facing History to apply again for Federal funds, promised a fair process of review, and encouraged me to make it a strong proposal. So Facing History reapplied for the third time. The news during the following weeks was increasingly distressing. I heard that Shirley Curry was insisting that Facing History not be

funded, and that in order to bypass the very high reviews which the proposal this time received from panelists, the whole category through which we were applying would be dropped. In July, I wrote to Shirley Curry asking for an inquiry into the review of the proposal. In September I received a letter informing me that funds for Facing History were being denied.

The 1988 regulations invited proposals in the history category, in fact, the category was #3 in terms of priority. They also announced that funding for projects not previously funded was a priority. I understand that a large percentage of projects funded in 1988 were projects that had previously received NDN funding. Facing History should have received funding because: 1) It scored 1st in an area that was the #3 priority for 1988 2) We never received NDN funding previously 3) We received the highest peer reviews.

The peer review panel was composed of reputable educators from across the country. Their overall assessments were consistently high. One panelist said,

> This is clearly one of the blue-ribbon curriculum projects in the country today. There is an admirable focus upon recorded history and a philosophical , literary, and artistic expression thereof. Unlike the 'values education" of Simon et al, which establishes an ethical no-man's land which is totally relativistic, students have moral discussions about real events and real people. Moreover, teachers are prompted to review their scholarship so they participate in this program...

Our program does not provide utopian political solutions for our students. We regard our program as pro-

democratic and pro-American. While not part of the program, members of the staff staunchly believe in the essential goodness of the tow political system.

Some reviews in this search for funding have criticized our program for concentrating on the horrors of the Holocaust and not including within the program history dealing with the depravity of certain left-wing dictatorships, such as the mass execution committee led by the followers of Pol Pot and Stalin. Our intent is not to single out right or left wing dictatorships for criticism, nor do we intend to teach a course categorizing each episode of mans inhumanity to man for the purpose of examining the horrific consequences of unchecked prejudice. We are not politicians, nor philosophers, we are educators who believe that schools can serve a valuable role in helping eradicate the vestigious of prejudice and bigotry from American society, and that the history of the Holocaust--a history that until recently was left out of our textbooks and classrooms--offers a powerful lesson in this regard.

We've gained support from Jews and Gentiles, Republicans and Democrats, who share our view that racism and bigotry can be a corrosive force, even in the most advanced societies. I hope that you share our views and vision.

Let me close with this message which a school principal sent to all teachers in his school at the beginning of the school year:

17

Dear Teacher,

I am a survivor of a concentration camp. My eyes saw what no man should witness.

Gas chambers built by learned engineers.

Children poisoned by educated physicians.

Infants killed by trained nurses.

Women and babies shot and burned by high school and college graduates.

So, I am suspicious of education.

My request is: Help your students become human. Your efforts must never produce learned monsters, skilled psychopaths, educated Eichmanns.

Reading, writing, arithmetic are important only if they serve to make our children more humane.

Mr. WEISS. Let me start off by asking you to respond to the statements made by Dr. Curry that the applications were rejected because they scored too very low. What is your response to that?

Ms. STROM. One of my responses to the 1988 application reviews is that I have now, through the Freedom of Information Act, is to note that one of those reviews which Dr. Curry refers to with the number 89, has a note from one reviewer written at the bottom of the review which says, "I have never done this before. I don't know how to put this in perspective. I would like to give this the highest score of anything but I scored my second one so much lower so please keep this in perspective. This should be the highest scored blue ribbon project."

I also understand that we scored the highest in the history category. My response is that I am dismayed. I truly believe the peer review process was going to work this time. It was promised by Ron Preston that it would.

Ron Preston was also relieved of his duty while he stood in support of Facing History to make sure we received this fair peer review. After he was removed I understand the category was dropped. I am dismayed.

Mr. MCCONKEY. In the earlier rounds and before 1988, I think it is clear from the documents that we have received, also through Freedom of Information, that the grant reviewers were selected by Dr. Curry, and we believe they entered with biases about how the reviews would be done.

Whether or not they were instructed how to do that or did that entirely on their own is unclear, but it appears as if there was a very careful selection of the reviewers.

I believe that this year, because of the publicity created previously, because of the Congress telling Dr. Finn that they were monitoring the peer review process, that they were careful to select good peer reviewers with credentials, with experience, with knowledge in history, civics, and geography, substantive areas, and as a result, Facing History received a very good and very adequate review.

Not only are there a series of at least 14 projects that I count that have been funded this year that received review scores, average review scores, below, in some cases well below, Facing History's average review score of 89, but as Margot suggested, Facing History was No. 1 ranked in the category that had already been identified as a priority for the Department.

Ms. STROM. May I add one thing? Facing History never received an apology, a firm statement regarding those scurrilous, ill founded, brutal reviews. The story that Shirley Curry referred to you that was in the newspaper that she said came to light unfortunately, came to light 1 year later so the reviews of 1986 and Christina Price, I understand Christina Price has been interviewed recently and she said the Department was very proud of her reviews and never scolded her, never said they felt them inappropriate and only until 1 year later when the journalists discovered it, the press, did these reviews come to light and did the press write the story but Facing History was never apologized to.

In fact, when I went to meet with Shirley Curry at a National Diffusion Network Advisory Council—I represent the unfunded

projects—I spoke with her. Incidentally, I want to return her compliment. She said she likes me. I like her, too. We both have Memphis, TN, in our background. At our meeting I said to her informally I do not understand what is going on here. These comments are just brutal and inappropriate. What we do is to work in the schools that Secretary Bennett believes in. Can you please tell me what to do before I reapply again?

She said, call Phyllis Schlafly. I indeed did that. She gave me her home phone number and I did call Phyllis Schlafly and Phyllis Schlafly suggested to me she stands by her comments that she is on record that Facing History was dangerous and that was the end of that and she had that type of influence.

Mr. WEISS. She also said in the course of her response to her questions that the elimination of certain categories for funding was usual, that there was nothing unusual about that. Mr. McConkey, would you comment on that?

Mr. MCCONKEY. Our experience over the years in that process is something as follows. There are nearly 400 projects that have been validated, approved for dissemination throughout NDN. They are all eligible to produce applications for funding as developer demonstrators. There are some 60 project content categories. Obviously, with a very limited amount of money available, the project directors of these many projects have to make a decision each year about whether to go through a very arduous process of preparing an extensive grant application.

The Department makes it easier by declaring in advance that certain categories have a priority. Those priorities have shifted over the years; they shift from Commissioner of Education to Secretary of Education and to new Secretary of Education. So Secretary Bennett's priorities, as listed in the Federal Register each year when a request is made for new application for developer demonstrator grants, are different than his predecessor's. This year, as Margot noted, the history, geography, and civics category was listed as third in a series of priority categories. The listing helps the field make decisions about whether it is worth their while to make application.

Now, in years past, as we have reviewed the processes, there have been occasions when a priority was listed, projects came in, and then no individual projects were funded in that category. But, the only instances, in searching our records, that we can find when that occurred were cases where there were simply no projects in that particular category that received high enough scores. In those cases, it was really legitimate for the Department to fund no projects there.

In all other instances where there have been a sufficient number of projects that have received acceptable scores in the priority categories, those projects with the highest ratings or rankings in those categories have been funded.

This year, for instance, in a final decision there were six projects that have been funded in the science category, just as one example. Of those six projects funded, three had scores that were lower than Facing History's in its history, geography, and civics category. What normally would have happened is: given limited funds, the highest ranked projects in the science category—the first three re-

ceived average scores of 93, 92, and 89—would have been funded and, then, with the remaining money, they would go to another category that had also been identified, like science, as a priority, in this case history, geography, and civics, and funded the highest ranked one or two projects there, and across the board, and so on.

This is the only case we have observed over the years where an entire category had acceptable and highly rated projects, and yet it was eliminated.

Mr. WEISS. In the course of Dr. Curry's testimony in response to questions, she said that what she found most objectionable about Facing History was the fact that the age group to which it was addressed was too young. She said that these were, I think she said, eighth and ninth graders and she felt those people were too young and she cited an author, Dr. Shur, I guess, and her cohort she said.

Tell us about how you develop the age level to aim this program and what the general sense is in the professional field about that.

Ms. STROM. I understand Dr. Shur was also one of the reviewers on our last review. We had three reviewers and they decided to add a fourth at the last, added her review.

Facing History was developed originally under ESEA, title IV, part C funds in the 1970's. As a requirement for that funding you had to have an evaluation component during the developmental years, 3 years if you are able to continue to get funding. We, as junior high school teachers, piloted this program in our own classrooms. The original two teachers were history teachers and took them into our own junior high school classrooms. As it began to move outside of our classrooms to other classrooms, we also used it in junior high school and ninth grade classrooms across the State, all the time evaluating and monitoring through parent-teacher journals, student journals, and instruments that were deemed appropriate to monitor childrens' thinking and childrens' understanding of the material.

Our experience has been, and I feel the same way as any adult, who expresses the feeling that any time it is too hard to learn painful history but the reality is as the recent Atlantic Monthly article on learning history discusses history is about both good and evil. We indeed found if we were not to teach these junior high school students the things that happened for the evil as well as good then they indeed would have disdain for their teachers or disdain for their text books. They would learn it later and feel apathetic that they had not been trusted. We had decided during the developmental stage to allow the teacher who decides to take this history the opportunity to create the curriculum that works best for their particular class and their children.

I will end my comments by telling you that most of the students teach their teachers. Teachers go in with a great deal of apprehension. They are teaching a piece of history they were not taught in their own classrooms. They find that junior high school students are indeed moral philosophers. They are thinking and struggling with issues of peer pressure and loyalty and obedience and these are the very issues this history is about.

Those junior high school students feel at the end of the course that this course must be taught and that it has been appropriate for them. We have had very, very few—I can't think of the names

on my hand of people who have criticized this program except from Phyllis Schlafly and Christina Price. We did in the first year have a parent who did not want this taught to their junior high school student and when we went to meet with the parent; it turned out the parent was a Holocaust survivor and felt she didn't want her children to know about the story, which was interesting and unexpected.

Mr. WEISS. In the course of the question period, Dr. Manno, I think, said in response to a question that although there are some programs which would have been disadvantaged because of the lack of Federal support, Facing History, in his judgment, is not one of those, that in fact Facing History does quite well in raising funds from other sources.

Would you address whether, in fact, the program has been adversely affected by the failure of Federal funding and the extent to which it has been affected, if it has been adversely affected, and how programs are currently funded?

Ms. STROM. When I originally found out the reviews in 1986, I did not use them. I didn't want the press to know about them. I barely wanted my staff to know about them. They were disheartening, painful, brutal, ill founded and there was such a misguided description of what Facing History does I just wanted to put them away and say either these are ludicrous or let's not pay any attention and for 1 year I did do that.

Some people, in fact, at the Department of Education said to me those comments must have been helpful to you. You could use them for fundraising. We are not fundraisers. We are educators. We spend our time writing curriculum, visiting classrooms. We do not spend our time nor want to spend our time fundraising. Facing History, however, has a track record of being able to find support within the school, if possible, or outside the school in a corporation, to fund some of the programs.

However, these particular programs that we apply to the National Diffusion Network were unfunded programs, underserved programs. They were deserving programs. They asked for, met the criteria and deserved to be served. I think the comments were very confusing for our constituency.

Many people don't know how to read the headlines very well and you have a headline that says Facing History is biased and unfair to Nazis you have to be able to understand that and figure that out. Before this hearing I asked a local teacher what effect did the controversy have on you and he said I used it as a classroom lesson plan and my students were astounded people who revise or use these kinds of comments.

Facing History did not use the comments; we found them brutal, confusing and did not in any way see how they could have been helpful to this organization.

Mr. WEISS. What are your sources of funding currently?

Ms. STROM. Right now they go from private individuals to funding within school systems like the archdiocese of certain school systems in Albuquerque. There is also funding from both the Lotus or Polaroid, people who are interested in improving inner-city schools.

We write proposals. For example, the Ford Foundation funds us. We have a project called, Choosing to Participate which is the fol-

91-635 O - 89 - 5

lowup to the original Facing History program that asked students to think about the voluntary traditions in America and how they can make a difference and that funding has come from Carnegie and other places.

Mr. WEISS. At the opening of the hearing I quoted a sentence from President Reagan's eloquent speech at the cornerstone dedication of the Holocaust Memorial Museum; he said that I think all of us here are aware of those, even among our own country men, who have dedicated themselves to the disgusting task of minimizing or even denying the truth of the Holocaust.

Have you encountered skepticism with the truth of the Holocaust around the country as you tried to promote the program?

Ms. STROM. I wish I had the opportunity to bring the teachers from across the country to testify before you. It is alarming. We do. But that we expect in workshops. We are looking to allow that to come up so we can help dispel myths, but we hear more and more often that the Holocaust did not happen, that it was a creation, more negative comments than that, yes.

Mr. WEISS. Would you say that the Department's action in denying your application and in particular, the reviewers' remarks that Facing History does not provide Nazi and Ku Klux Klan's point of view, have reenforced the skepticism that you have encountered?

Ms. STROM. I think it fuels that skepticism, yes. I have spoken to my associate director, Dr. Sleeper, yesterday and others in the network of Facing History and this is the kind of comment that would fuel those persons who want to prove that the Holocaust didn't happen or how out of their ignorance believe it didn't happen.

Mr. WEISS. Mr. McConkey, the Department of Education created the Program Significance Panel to examine the content of education programs applying for funds from the National Diffusion Network. Did the educators whom you represent view the creation of the panel as a form of censorship? What was their reaction to it?

Mr. MCCONKEY. They reacted with alarm.

The National Diffusion Network was created in 1974, now that we look back upon it, with a great deal of care and wisdom. I think there was great concern even then in the Office of Education that the role of the Federal Government with respect to funding curriculum needed to be very carefully prescribed, and so, as I noted in my testimony, the NDN was created with the belief that the Federal Government's role would be twofold: One, to certify that there needed to be some sort of standard, a good housekeeping system of approval, if you will, on programs that had been developed locally. The Federal Government could play a legitimate role looking at the statistical data that were available that indicated that the programs that were developed actually carried out the goals and objectives in the ways that they had said that they would and that, in fact, they were workable, that they were effective, that they indeed were exemplary. That process has gone on reasonably well since 1974.

Second, the National Diffusion Network would provide some limited support for the projects for dissemination across State lines so that the project that had been developed, that was exemplary, could move to the schools throughout the country that needed and wanted it.

The introduction of the Program Significance Panel introduced a third element. It suggested that, at the Federal level, decisions would be made about which programs were most appropriate to American schools for dissemination. Prior to that time those decisions, about appropriateness and whether a school needed, wanted, or found the program acceptable, were all made at the local level. A funded National Diffusion Network program in health may be seen as perfectly appropriate and welcome by an elementary school in the District of Columbia and may be seen as entirely inappropriate and unnecessary, even offensive, by an elementary school in Nevada, and that is as it should be.

Local schools should have the prerogative to make those decisions. The Program Significance Panel represented a Federal intrusion in that process.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you.

Ms. Strom, as we have indicated in the course of earlier testimony, in December 1987 the Department of Education, Office of General Counsel, sent a letter to the attorney for Dr. Price who wrote the controversial review which included comments about the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan. The letter expressed the Department's regret to Dr. Price for the inconvenience caused her by the controversy.

You have indicated the Department never expressed regret to you in writing and although obviously the legislative branch and Congress is distanced from the executive branch of the Government, nonetheless, in the cosmic sense we are all the Government of the United States of America. So I certainly want to express my regrets and our regrets for the injustice that was done to Facing History by comments such as those.

Thank you both very much for your participation.

Our final witness for today is Dr. Michael Berenbaum, professor of the Holocaust and theology at Georgetown University.

Do you affirm that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth? Let the record indicate that the witness has responded in the affirmative.

We are grateful to you for fitting us into your hectic schedule and being with us all this morning. We would be pleased to hear from you at this time.

STATEMENT OF MICHAEL BERENBAUM, PH.D., PROFESSOR OF THE HOLOCAUST AND THEOLOGY, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

Dr. BERENBAUM. Mr. Chairman, let me offer very brief opening remarks and deal with some of the issues that had been raised in testimony. Let me begin by merely stating for the record, I am a scholar of the Holocaust and my particular involvement, I am also employed right now by the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum as the acting project director for the museum project.

I speak as a scholar and not as a museum official which gives me greater latitude to speak. I am also here in a very particular role because in 1979, 1980, and 1981 I initially applied for a grant and then supervised a research project on American youth and the Holocaust and was the author of its major conclusions.

We considered several curricula at that point and its impact, including the issue of age appropriateness. One of the curricula so considered was the Facing History, which was then in its infancy. I have followed over the years the course of the work on Facing History and Ourselves. I indeed am one of the people that has supported Facing History and Ourselves and was involved last summer in teacher training for their national network of teachers.

Let me begin also by saying I know Irene Shur. I, too, thought this material is certainly not age appropriate for junior high school people—except that I was persuaded otherwise when I walked into the classroom and saw what the children actually learned and what the children actually did. I would have concluded with everybody in the Department of Education that this was thoroughly not age appropriate for younger children—except for the fact that there is now an exhibit over at the Children's Museum, within really a stone's throw of this building, which is drawing hundreds and thousands of children who are encountering the Holocaust asking highly intelligent questions, engaging in conversation with survivors, producing incredible material including tiles that will be used in the museum itself. So perhaps philosophically, the material is not age appropriate, but empirically—judged by what the children learn by the activities they engage in—time and again we have found not only is it age appropriate, but it speaks to the essence of some of the issues that junior high school students are confronting in their own lives.

What is the nature of authority, what is the nature of responsibility, what is our commitment to human dignity? What is the nature of the education that I receive? Am I being deceived by the world? Can I be taken in? What does it mean to behave like a human being under situations that are extraordinarily difficult? We have heard very important philosophical theories, but empirically that are just not true and I can marshall significant empirical evidence to demonstrate both by the material of Facing History and Ourselves and other material elsewhere, including the children's exhibit, that the age appropriateness question is a strawman agrument. It has no relevance whatsoever.

Let me also say one other thing. Why is it that we believe, that I believe that the Holocaust is so important? Because frankly, it's a matter of engagement with history but also a confrontation with values. The Holocaust is about what is most destructive event within the human community. It also teaches us not only about darkness, destruction and tragedy, but about the nature of human heroism and of the estrangement and dangers of the estrangement between the power of government and the moral dimensions of the human enterprise.

It, therefore, addresses the core of our national values and it addresses issues that are of the utmost of significance to American youth as they begin the process of engagement with the world.

One final point, Phyllis Schlafly in one sense is right. Facing History is dangerous. It is dangerous because of its virtues. All of the things that it has been criticized for are precisely its strength. It forces people to question their own values. It forces people to question authority. It encourages people to examine the world in which we live. If this is a nation of values, if this is a nation of freedom, if

the commitment of the American people is to pluralism, then I submit to you and I have demonstrated this in writings which I will submit to the committee, that Facing History addresses the core of our national values and it speaks significantly to what is best in the United States of America and what makes us all proud to be citizens of this great land.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you very much, Dr. Berenbaum.

For those of us who lived through the time of the Holocaust, we believe that it must never be forgotten. Most of us do, anyhow.

Have you seen any signs that the world is starting to revise the history of the Holocaust in a way that could lessen the truth of what happened?

Dr. BERENBAUM. Let's begin with the most pernicious, or the whole revisionist historians, who say the Holocaust never happened. I probably receive one request a week to appear on a panel with revisionists, some media, television, the Larry King show, everywhere in the country. I normally get a request a week and I am always tempted to say, "Sure, I'll debate," but I don't know how the debate flatters society. How do you debate whether an historical event did or did not take place?

There is a second attempt to minimize the significance. The Holocaust is about tragedy, but let's turn ourselves to happier subjects. Let us not confront the past. Amnesia invites repetition and in the word of Santayana, a very distinguished American philosopher, "Those who forget the past are condemned to repeat it."

We then have a whole other series of denials of the Holocaust. Don't tell us about evil; tell us about goodness. So we have a whole series of stories about heroism and we begin to forget that the core of the experience was about tragedy.

I believe that if we confront the nature of evil, if we understand it, if we understand the role of government as a perpetrator of evil in the Nazi case, if we begin to confront an event whose 50th anniversary we are going to commemorate next month, Krystallnaet, when synagogues in Germany and Austria were destroyed, homes invaded, businesses looted, and tens of thousands of Jews arrested, we begin to discover the core of what the Bill of Rights is about—which includes the freedom to worship, which includes the freedom of human dignity and human security and the protection of individuals' rights which are the essence of the American experience.

Sure, there is increasing evidence of minimization and of revisionists, and this certainly contributes to those and gives, as it were, a green light which says, "Hey, you can do it, and it's simple to do," and look, you now get into a situation where a curriculum on the Holocaust has to be fair to the Nazis, and next we will know a curriculum on sexual violence has to be fair and sympathetic to the rapist.

I think the virtue of the curriculum is that it thoroughly has a value perspective and the value perspective is against nazism and for American values.

Mr. WEISS. In your judgment, what is the awareness level of American citizens about the Holocaust? Who knows about it and who doesn't?

Dr. BERENBAUM. Over the past 10 years, as we have had the minimization and denial, there has also been an incredible resur-

gence of interest in the Holocaust; in one sense or another, the Holocaust has had a greater impact over the last 10 years on American society and culture than it did throughout the postwar period.

Part of that has to do with the beginning of serious scholarship which has taken place in the university. In 1970 there were two courses on the Holocaust offered at the university level. In 1979 there were 206. In 1988 there are 1,960.

If you look at publications that have come, the publications that have been produced, you are talking about an increase that is 10, 20, 30 timesfold, and as Facing History demonstrates, beginning with two teachers in the late 1970's, and spreading across the country, impacting on thousands and tens of thousands of students and hundreds of teachers, you begin to see the dissemination of information. The media has been helpful, especially with docudramas and documentaries.

Now the Holocaust has become accepted by certainly the intellectual community and the cultural community as one of those significant demarcation points of what it means to live in 20th century civilization.

Mr. WEISS. What do other countries do to educate their citizens about the Holocaust?

Dr. BERENBAUM. I didn't hear you.

Mr. WEISS. What do other countries do about educating their citizens?

Dr. BERENBAUM. That is a very interesting question. Let me give you what I know.

In Austria, you have a very interesting case of denial. Austria says that in March 1938, Austria was abolished and Austrian history continues in April 1945.

Germany has made significant attempts over the past several years to begin introducing in education with respect to the Holocaust into its curriculum.

Israel obviously has a deep commitment to education of the Holocaust. It has increased its commitment in that direction.

England has begun to introduce some elements of that into its curriculum. And ironically, some of the best material on the Holocaust is education now being developed in Poland, which for a long period of time had difficulty in admitting that the victims who were killed in Poland were killed for two reasons. One is those who were killed as Polish citizens and the other is the majority though more than 3.1 million were killed solely because of their Jewish birth. And over the last couple of years there has been an intensive effort to undertake educational materials in Poland.

The same, by the way, is true of Canada, which has adopted many of the American curricula and has also used much of the material that has been developed in the United States.

Mr. WEISS. As you have indicated, there are those in our society who claim that the Holocaust either never happened or has been greatly exaggerated. Do only fringe elements of our society have that view, or does it go further?

Dr. BERENBAUM. Approximately 120 books have been published over the last several years, which denied that the Holocaust happened. Some of these people are tenured full professors at universities, some of them at distinguished universities. In certain cases—

one of them is a professor of electrical engineering, which has no relevance to history—but he still serves at one of the most distinguished Midwestern universities in the country.

The most important element and one of the reasons why I think it is critical that these hearings took place is to make sure that the attitudes that we saw reflected in the evaluations that were given by so-called professionals do not become accepted in the mainstream, that one does not have to look over one's shoulder and say, "How did I treat the Nazis in my curriculum, how do I treat the KKK, and did I create a sympathetic environment for them," so that one deals in a world of relativism where nothing matters, where there is nothing of value. There is nothing that we can call evil and nothing that we can call good.

It is incredible to me that 26 critique of Facing History and Ourselves comes out of conservative fringes of this society, that on the other hand is bemoaning the loss of values in American life.

It seems inconceivable to me that one could stress the importance of values, of goodness, of family values, of tolerance, of pluralism and of freedom, commitment to national security, and then say, "Well, it was this, it was that, it was the other thing."

Your job, Mr. Chairman, and you have discharged it much to our admiration, is to make sure that these views do not become mainstream, do not become accepted, and do not begin to corrupt the national discourse with respect to this topic.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you very much.

Again, we are greatly appreciative of your sharing your wisdom and knowledge with us.

The hearing now stands adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.

[Whereupon, at 1:05 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene subject to the call of the Chair.]

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1.—MATERIAL REFERRED TO IN THE RECORD

Campaign '88

Democratic National Committee
430 South Capitol St., S.E., Washington, DC 20003
(202) 863-8087 FAX (202) 863-8140

October 18, 1988

Hon. Ted S. Weiss
Chairman
Subcommittee on Human Resources and Intergovernmental Relations
Committee on Government Operations
House of Representatives
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I commend you and your committee for giving immediate attention to the distressing news about the failure to support the "Facing History" Holocaust studies program resulting from right-wing extremist pressures.

It may be of interest to you to know that earlier this month I happened to be travelling with Kitty Dukakis, wife of the Governor of Massachusetts and currently the Democratic candidate for President, when she learned about the project denials. Mrs. Dukakis and I both had served on the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council for about seven years, leaving only after President Reagan failed to re-appoint us to the Council. During these seven years I learned how devoted both Kitty and Michael Dukakis were to the whole program of educating Americans, especially our children, to the meaning of the Holocaust for all people. I write to tell you how shocked Kitty was when she learned of the Department of Education action and particularly of the incredible reasons offered. She spoke out eloquently and movingly about the matter at two meetings I participated in, noting the work on Holocaust studies she and her husband had supported in Massachusetts and expressing confidence that a Dukakis administration would not have tolerated the situation that had developed at the Department of Education.

It is my hope that your hearing will lead to a re-examination of the present policies both at the Department and the White House, and that a reversal in policy may result.

Sincerely,

Hyman Bookbinder
Special Advisor

HB:el

Paid for and authorized by the Democratic National Committee.
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OAK RIDGE SCHOOLS
P.O. BOX 930
OAK RIDGE, TENNESSEE 37831-0930

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL

TELEPHONE NUMBER
AREA CODE (615) 482-6815

August 29, 1988

Ms. Margo Stern-Strom
Facing History and Ourselves Foundation, Inc.
25 Kennard Road
Brookline, Massachusetts 02146

Dear Margo:

As the school year begins, I want to take this opportunity to express my gratitude for having your continuous support in our efforts to work with Facing History. Your organization has learned how to make contacts, initiate good thinking on the part of administrators regarding curriculum change, and sustain a network for teachers. We have several additional teachers this year who have approached me to learn about the social, civic and history issues in Facing History materials.

In my twenty years as a public school educator, I have not seen a more cogent project. I am impressed with the high expectations you have for both teachers and students. Recent research indicates that our textbooks have been "dumbed down." Facing History, on the other hand, sets a standard that students can be rigorous in their perusal of historic documents and primary sources. The use of visiting scholars, film clips, documentaries, newspapers, personal reminiscences exemplify the tools of scholars and historians. Just as we know that in learning to read, students must read books, so too, in order to appreciate and understand history, students must dig, delve, reflect, synthesize, discuss and argue the ideas and events of history. Facing History trains teachers to act as facilitators of such activity. I know that teachers who attend your institute leave with self confidence and inspiration to work with their students as they ponder the issues of our past.

The issues in Facing History are timely and relevant to our daily life. I am personally interested that, through Facing History curricula, students examine the complicated issues of prejudice and discrimination, the responsibilities of being a good citizen, the powers of obedience and disobedience in a democratic society. I am convinced that students in all areas, urban and rural, East coast and Southeast, find relevance in studying these subjects. I am also persuaded that to honor and support the concepts of maintaining and living in a democratic society, we need to have our student-citizens appreciate the complexities. And so, I

applaud all that you do in inspiring us and training us to take history seriously. I believe in your basic premise, that in order to understand our present, and to project towards the future, we must study the past. Thank you for all you do.

We will be in contact this year. Our teachers in Tennessee who have attended one of your institutes and the retreat which we held last year, are eager to re-group and continue learning. Have a great year.

Most sincerely,

Jinx Bohstedt
Director of Teacher Center and
Personnel Services

JB/mds

THE WINNETKA PUBLIC SCHOOLS
1235 OAK STREET WINNETKA ILL. 60093 312 446-7500

12 October 88

Congressman Sidney Yates
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Yates:

Although I am one of your constituents I am writing this letter to you as a concerned educator. I am Chairperson ofthe Social Studies Department at Carleton Washburne School in Winnetka and have been for the past 12 years. In that time I have seen textbooks come and go, most without loss. I have seen innovative curricula, many with potential, get washed upon the shore of disuse. As education is subject to the whims and fancies of the times, as well as its politics, I am often distressed to see good substantive curricula attacked for frivolous and often partisan reasons. It is in this frame of mind that I am writing to you to comment upon, defend and extol Facing History and Ourselves.

Approximately six years ago I became familiar with the Facing History curriculum. I teach American history which, as you know, cannot be taught in isolation in the 20th century without consideration of the tumultuous events that emanated from Europe. The watershed event of this century (and maybe any century) has been the Holocaust and it has been exceptionally difficult to find rigorous and intellectually sound materials. Facing History has produced substantially researched, dynamically effective and pedagogically important materials. I have used Facing History films, text supplements and documents for as long as I have taught my current Holocaust unit at Washburne School. I have also trained other teachers in the use of Facing History materials. Without fail this program reaches the depths of the conscience and intellect in a manner that I have not experienced with any other body of work. For six consecutive years I have surveyed my students at the end of the year and asked what the most stimulating and rewarding unit of study has been. Without fail the answer has been the unit on the Holocaust and the reason has been the inspiration of Facing History.

I am aware of the difficulties that Facing History has encountered of late with the National Diffusion Network. It is very unfortunate that this model program which should be emulated for its style and composition has fallen victim to partisanship. Good programs have no leanings. They are politically neutral. In their best form a solid program encounters, inspires and enlightens. That is the substance of the Facing History and Ourselves program and that is why I am concerned that it is under attack in the Network.

Read the reports and interview teachers who have worked with Facing

History materials. We extol critical thinking and searching for causation; skill development and complicating thinking in my school. We demand these from our children as Facing History demands them from us.

As you investigate the NDN ratings and its effect on Facing History I believe that you discover a program that is worthy of broader dissemination. Facing History needs the funding to expand its audience. It also mandates a fair treatment from an impartial group of critics. I do not believe that it has received that degree of fairness.

Thank you for the consideration. I hope that my testimony has been valuable. Good educational projects are becoming rare as mediocrity and simple remedies to complicated problems saturate the market. I am thankful that Facing History has given me the ability to counteract that mediocrity and challenge my students.

I remain

Sincerely,

CHARLES J. MEYERS
Department Chair
Carleton Washburne School
515 Hibbard Rd
Winnetka, IL 60093

cc: Ms Margot Strom, Facing History and Ourselves

Montebello Unified School District

123 SOUTH MONTEBELLO BOULEVARD · MONTEBELLO, CALIFORNIA 90640-4729
(213) 726-1225

August 10, 1988

Ms. Margo Strom
Facing History and Ourselves
25 Kennard Road
Brookline, Mass. 02146

Dear Margo:

Thank you for the opportunity of participating in the summer seminar (July 24-29) on Facing History and Ourselves. I am certain that those participating in the seminar came away with a greater understanding and commitment that Facing History and Ourselves is a critical component to the curriculum taught in our schools.

I must compliment you and your staff, specifically Marc Skivirsky, for providing us with outstanding speakers from academia, experts in the studies of holocaust and genocide, literature, historians and the medical profession. The intensity of topics covered gave pause for the participants to do a great deal of reflective thinking.

In my five-year association with Facing History and Ourselves, it has become apparent that your concern with the holocaust and human rights issues are provocative pieces of curriculum that require a challenge to teacher training and staff development. As a large school district on the west coast, I have found our teachers embracing and engaging Facing History and Ourselves to better meet the needs of our student population. Our multi-ethnic student population readily identifies with the complicated issues inherent within the Facing Ourselves curriculum. I have come away from this five-day seminar with greater insight and ability to not only articulate the program within our district, but to other educators in the state of California. Facing History represents the only support system in the United States dealing with these issues in an unbiased and thoughtful manner. The training and resources are incredible! This is what social studies should be about!

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DARLENE P. ROBLES, *Acting Assistant Superintendent – Pupil Personnel Services*

Ms. Margo Strom

August 10, 1988

I look forward to your continued support as we expand the program in our district and throughout the State of California. Thank you for allowing me the opportunity to interact not only with the Facing History staff, but other educators throughout the United States. The commitment and support from those in attendance of the Facing History and Ourselves Foundation creates a base of support that will allow us to expand this curriculum throughout our schools.

Cordially,

Norm

Norm Kirschenbaum
Assistant Superintendent
Instructional Services

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Enc.

YORK SCHOOL DEPARTMENT
Office Of
Superintendent of Schools

February 3, 1988

Dr. Chester E. Finn, Jr.
Assistant Secretary and Counselor
U.S. Department of Education
Office for Education Research & Improvement
Washington, D.C. 20208

Dear Checker:

It has come to my attention that the "Facing History and Ourselves" curriculum project, sponsored by the non-profit foundation of the same name, has been denied federal funding through the National Diffusion Network based on negative ratings from a panel of outside reviewers. Apparently the curriculum, in the reviewers' eyes, lacks "balance," "objectivity," or is not "relevant to contemporary issues." I cannot believe that you could personally share the opinions of reviewers who feel that the curriculum's failure to present the "Nazi point of view" is evidence of serious imbalance or lack of essential objectivity.

We teach the "Facing History" curriculum in our high school. In part it is incorporated into Twentieth Century American History and it also exists as a stand-alone semester course in our history department. I proudly refer to it as an example of our school system's effort to teach relevant historical content in the context of basic moral questions which face civilization now and in the next century just as surely as they faced civilization in the middle third of the present century. I honestly believe the Facing History curriculum to be one of our best efforts to produce the kind of education in the humanities that you and Secretary Bennett would want to see in our high schools.

The curriculum is balanced and objective primarily because it challenges students to consider the relevance of the historical events of the Holocaust to the social and political context of our present day. The

44 Organug Road • York, Maine • 03909 • Tel. 207-363-3403

curriculum takes no political stand on these modern issues other than forcefully raising the great moral questions inherent in the course. As for its relevance as subject matter, the Holocaust is surely at least as relevant for study as the French Revolution or the Crusades, to name two subjects no one would deny prominent positions in our history books. The advantage of the Holocaust is that we can bring to its study the multi-sensory impact of modern document recording: film, tape recordings and, for a while longer, live eyewitness accounts of survivors.

In summary, I urge you to restore NDN funding for Facing History and Ourselves.

Sincerely,

Dick Barnes

Richard E. Barnes
Superintendent of Schools

THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS
SOUTH BOSTON HIGH SCHOOL

September 16, 1986

To whom It May Concern:

I am delighted to write this letter in support of Facing History and Ourselves.

Four teachers preparing to begin a new ninth grade cluster program in the fall attended a Facing History and Ourselves institute in late June, 1985. None of them were particularly excited about giving up five precious days of their summer vacation to participate in a conference. They expected to learn enough about the Holocaust to enable them to teach the concepts to ninth grade students. As the institute progressed, it was clear that acquiring the necessary methods and materials was superseded by a fascination for the subject matter itself. The teachers sought to understand the chain of events leading to the Holocaust and to make some sense of the horror that confronted them.

The institute brought the team of teachers closer together. Not only did they share greater insight into a powerful piece of history, but the raw emotions that were exposed revealed their own suppressed prejudices that were painful to talk about (or even think about). Ultimately, the process served to heal and draw them together.

Discussions and curriculum development continued in the fall of 1985. Marc Skvirsky from Facing History and Ourselves attended every meeting. He suggested films, books, speakers and specific lessons, but most of all, he brought a deeper sense of mission to the group. As the time drew closer to actually teaching the unit, the teachers' anxiety rose dramatically but, nevertheless, they had a fervent desire to share what they had learned with students.

Needless to say, the unit was an unconditional success. The greatest worry teachers had was unfounded - that learning about the Holocaust would reinforce students' stereotypical beliefs. Of particular note, students began to understand that individuals are responsible for acts. Groups should not be blamed for the behavior of a few. One teacher observed two black females talking about the persistent racist attitudes of a white male. "But", said Crystal, "It's not all whites, it's just Derek." In addition to changing attitudes, the Facing History and Ourselves curriculum significantly increased thinking and writing skills. The material was so engaging that they wanted to express and share their thoughts with others.

95 G STREET • SOUTH BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02127 • 268-[illegible]

This year three other teachers will attend a one-day conference in the fall - with an important difference. They will have the encouragement and support of the pioneer teachers at South Boston High. They can learn from their colleagues' experiences.

Two upcoming events hosted by Facing History and Ourselves are the conference "Children at War" on April 9, 1987 and the Anne Frank exhibit at the Boston Public Library. Both of these will enrich our understanding of the Holocaust. Teachers are looking forward to participating - meeting with other school staff, sharing stories, and curricula ideas. They are also planning to bring students to the scheduled presentations.

The staff at Facing History and Ourselves are superb. They are dedicated educators - professionals in every sense of the word. They are exciting, creative and unfailingly supportive.

Endorsement of Facing History and Ourselves is a priviledge. They receive my very highest praise.

Yours truly,

Anita Jamieson

ANITA JAMIESON
Director
Program and Staff Development

AJ/par

Memphis City Schools
2597 Avery Avenue • Memphis, Tennessee 38112 • (901) 454-5200

Please Reply To
South Area Office
2300 Hernando Road
Memphis, Tennessee 38106

April 18, 1988

Mr. Marc Skvirsky
Facing History and Ourselves
25 Kennard Road
Brookline, Massachusetts 02146

Dear Marc:

On behalf of the teachers and students who have been involved in the Facing History... program this year I would like to commend you on your untiring efforts to foster critical thinking and awareness of vital issues.

Having worked in numerous projects I can attest that Facing History... is unique. So many times teachers are exposed to new material, given inservice training, and then sent back to the classroom to implement a project. Facing History..., on the other hand, provides support and follow-up for teachers in the form of continued training and a wealth of materials and speakers. I have never seen a group of teachers so excited about any project!

We cannot begin to express our gratitude for allowing Leon Bass to speak to several of our Facing History... classes. His words and concerns touched all who heard him. The students were spellbound, as were the adults who heard him speak. Thank you for this wonderful opportunity.

I look forward to our continued involvement with Facing History and Ourselves. I think we have made an outstanding start and expect even greater things next year.

Sincerely,

Ann

Ann B. Nero, Ed. D.
Social Studies Instructional Supervisor
Memphis City Schools

ABN/mls

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Los Angeles Unified School District
OFFICE OF SECONDARY INSTRUCTION
ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES: 450 NORTH GRAND AVENUE, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
MAILING ADDRESS: BOX 3307, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90051
TELEPHONE: (213) 625-6403

HARRY HANDLER
Superintendent of Schools
ROSALYN S. HEYMAN
Assistant Superintendent

November 14, 1985

Bill Parsons, Program Director
Facing History and Ourselves
National Foundation Inc.
25 Kennard Road
Brookline, MA 02146

Dear Bill:

I wish to thank you for agreeing to do a workshop for teachers in the LAUSD. Having seen your presentations in the Glendale and Montebello School Districts, I fully understand the relevance of your program to a secondary history-social science curriculum.

As you know, we here in California, and in the Los Angeles Unified School District, are in the middle of a concentrated effort to provide a more rigorous curriculum and to strengthen the development of critical thinking skills. Nowhere are these efforts more important than in the social sciences and history. Your efforts on behalf of our teachers can play a role in helping us to fulfill these goals and to strengthen key elements of the instructional program.

Teachers who are better able to show students the import of decision-making, justice, the uses and abuses of power, and obedience in societies can assist those very students to deal with complex and critical issues in history. After all, looking at difficult questions in history in a logical and systematic way means thinking "historically" and that is a major goal of any history-social science curriculum.

It is in this sense that your program can do vital and important things for our teachers. Your approach and your methodology are appropriate for a large, multicultural district such as ours as we begin to implement our new high school course, Cultural Awareness and as we deal with themes such as tolerance for others and individual rights in a democratic society--themes that run throughout our history-social science curriculum.

I look forward to working with you on this project.

Sincerely,

Allan H. Scholl, Ph.D.
History-Social Science Specialist

AHS:cd

Montebello Unified School District

123 SOUTH MONTEBELLO BOULEVARD / MONTEBELLO, CALIFORNIA 90640-4729
(213) 726-1295

September 15, 1988

Ms. Margot Strom
Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Inc.
25 Kennard Road
Brookline, MA 02146

Dear Margot,

I would like to thank Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation for their efforts to aide school districts in infusing the teaching of human rights issues into the curriculum. Our association with Facing History began five years ago and since then, approximately 65 of our teachers, grades 8-12, have been trained by Facing History personnel.

One of the most significant outcomes of our relationship with Facing History is that your program has given our teachers an alternative way of teaching about the values of human rights. The program has worked especially well with adolescents and touches many of them on a personal level. Our student population is 84% Hispanic, with approximately 10% Asian or Pacific Islander and both these groups of students benefit a great deal from the program, especially when there are students in classes who may have experienced similar violations of human rights.

The curriculum is complete as it explores human rights issues and their relationship to the lives of adolescents. Questions surrounding peer pressure, prejudice and racism are excellent avenues for teachers to utilize in helping adolescents relate this history and its learnings to the events of today. Facing History shows students that each of them has a range of choices and that they can exercise a degree of control in their lives. Citizenship education is greatly enhanced. Lastly, your program offers teachers and students hope that they can make a difference.

I thank you for your wonderful curriculum and leadership. I look forward to many fruitful years of association with Facing History. Keep up the good work!

Sincerely,

Lloyd Kajikawa, Coordinator
Staff Development

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FACING HISTORY AND OURSELVES

PARENT RESPONSE:

"In no other course was she (my daughter) exposed to real dilemmas as complex and challenging. In no other course has she been inspired to use the whole of her spiritual, moral and intellectual resources to solve a problem. In no other course has she been so sure that the task mattered seriously for her development as a responsible person."

TEACHER RESPONSES:

"This program is perfect for junior high kids. It's developmentally appropriate, speaks to the needs, capacities, and issues they're concerned with and ready to grow with. Students are asked to use their understanding of themselves and their own groups in society to help make sense of the history they explored, and the implications of that history for their own behavior, thinking and understanding of themselves. Although the history is taught for its own sake, the focus is always on the issues it raises, issues of prime relevance to an adolescent."

- A Harvard Curriculum Development Specialist

"This curriculum is about more than the Holocaust. It's about the reading and the writing and the arithmetic of genocide, but it's also about such R's as rethinking, reflecting, and reasoning. It's about prejudice, discrimination and scapegoating; but it's also about human dignity, morality, law, and citizenship. It's about avoiding and forgetting, but it's also about civic courage and justice. In an age of 'back to basics' this curriculum declares that there is one thing more basic, more sacred, than any of the three R's; namely, the sanctity of human life."

- Scholar of German History and Social Studies Curriculum Director

FACING HISTORY AND OURSELVES NATIONAL FOUNDATION, INC., 25 KENNARD ROAD, BROOKLINE, MA 02146 • 617-232-1595

STUDENT QUOTES:

"A human mind is too valuable to be wasted on prejudice, and a human life is too valuable to be the victim of it."

- Marblehead High School student

"It has come to my attention that the funding you have provided for the Holocaust course will come to an end. The reasons that you have given seem unjust to me. First of all you stated something to the effect that the course material wasn't appropriate for our adolescent minds. If you feel that adolescents are incapable of dealing with the material, then when did you expect to throw us this information; when we're forty years old and already set in our ways? The information dealt with in the Holocaust course is very emotional and difficult, but the manner in which it is taught is sensitive, yet effective. My mind has matured and been opened to so many new thoughts through taking this course. It is unfair to deny it to others."

"It is hard to believe we have studied this subject for six weeks. When we began I thought I'd hate it, it's so depressing. Then we read all those personal histories and letters and diaries from the people who suffered so much, and then we "met" the people through video testimonies. The last segment was the best though. I want to know more about the people who cared enough to help the Jews. I know there weren't as many of them as there should have been, and I know that the ones who did great things for their fellow human beings were just average people, but that is why they are so important, isn't it? Because if they can choose to risk everything to do what is right, can't I do that, too?"

- high school junior

"I don't think I can reduce all my feelings to words, especially just to a journal entry. When we read and discussed the horror and the heroism and the history, we always turned it into a personal journey for ourselves from looking at other people and other times to looking at ourselves in our own time. How did we do that? Is that why you kept referring to the book on Facing History and OURSELVES? I'm not sure what you want me to write about, I have so many ideas running through my head. Maybe I should just tell you one important effect this unit has had on me already and let you draw your own conclusions. I wrote an essay for you once about my job in the bakery? Well, part of my job is to throw out the old bread and stuff that hasn't been sold or isn't fresh enough to be sold anymore.

But after meeting Anne (a survivor of the Warsaw Ghetto and of eight camps, including Buchenwald), and after reading about the hunger and the horror, and after hearing the testimonies on the videos you brought for us to see, I couldn't just go to work anymore and throw away bread because it's two days old. So I talked to my boss, and I told him all about what we were studying, and I asked him if I could call around and find a place like a mission center or a hunger project and give the bread to them on a regular basis. He said fine, so now the bread goes to San Jose to a shelter. I even get to vist and serve the free food sometimes now, and I am thinking about how many other opportunities there are... My friend from Crystal Springs School (that's in Hillsborough) belongs to an Oxfam Chapter. Maybe we should start one here at MHS..."

- high school senior

"This course strengthened my feelings toward the fact that although people are different and have different backgrounds, everyone has a right to live their lives the way they desire. Also, just because someone is different they should not be considered inferior, they are human just like the rest of us."

- parochial school student

"I feel that this course has made me aware that I was very prejudiced against different races before. However, I feel that my feelings have changed and that I have matured."

- parochial school student

STUDENT RESPONSE TO RESOURCE SPEAKER (Leon Bass)

"As I looked around the classroom during his speech it seemed as though we were all affected by his words. Not only was his speech proof of unfair teatment of man but it also brought forth a sense of brotherhood in me. I was not alone in feeling this for I noticed that many students both black and white, Jew and Gentile, went to shake hands with Mr. Bass and thank him. This one presentation was inspiring enough to make me and my fellow students realize how important it is for us to hold strong to our background and make sure that nothing like the Holocaust will ever happen again. As Jai Tsung, a seventh century Chinese ruler said, "History is a mirror." Hopefully, all of society can use this mirror to reflect on history's mistakes and make a change rather than watch the same thing happen again."

APPENDIX 2.—STATEMENTS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
THE SECRETARY

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CAVAZOS

October 19, 1988

Questions have been raised in the media and elsewhere concerning the operation of the Department of Education's peer review process in connection with the National Diffusion Network. Stories in the press have alleged that the Department's peer review process did not operate properly in connection with the "Facing History and Ourselves" program that was under consideration for NDN funding earlier this year.

I want to assure this Subcommittee that I am a strong believer in the peer review process and will take whatever steps are necessary to ensure its proper functioning at the Department. It has been my good fortune to have served as a peer reviewer for programs funded by the National Library of Medicine. My experience there has convinced me that a strong peer review process ensures integrity and objectivity in the government's grant-making process.

While the decision not to fund projects in the History, Geography and Civics category occurred before my confirmation as Secretary of Education, in light of the allegations surrounding the NDN funding decisions earlier this year, I am reviewing the process. I intend to take all possible steps to ensure that future peer reviews are conducted in accordance with congressional intent.

I do want to assure this Subcommittee that allegations of anti-Semitism in the funding decision concerning "Facing History and Ourselves" are unfounded.

400 MARYLAND AVE., S.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

STATEMENT BY
CONGRESSMAN HENRY A. WAXMAN
before the
HUMAN RESOURCES AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE
of the
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

MR. WAXMAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to commend you for holding this important hearing on the Education Department's decision to block funding for a Holocaust education program.

I am outraged that the Education Department's review panel recommended rejection of the program "Facing History and Ourselves" by noting that: "The program gives no evidence of balance or objectivity. The Nazi point of view, however unpopular, is still a point of view and is not presented, nor is that of the Ku Klux Klan."

Is ensuring that Nazi and Ku Klux Klan views are represented the new litmus test for approving holocaust educational programs? The process surrounding "Facing History and Ourselves" seems to be another incredible example of an unthinking and insensitive bureaucracy running out of control. It suggests that narrow and vicious interests can now dictate broad policy without any accountabilty. This is not an issue of one panelists misguided views--it is a question of who's running the Education Department and who's responsibible for important public policy decisions.

"Facing History and Ourselves" is a worthwhile and balanced project. It has been used effectively in over 1,000 schools across our country, including such diverse cities as Memphis, Tennessee, inner-city

Chicago, Albuquerque, New Mexico, and Los Angeles. It's purpose isn't to promote extreme ideas, but to educate our children about one of the most heinous crimes in history. It has been well received and has bona fide credentials.

Political maneuvering should have no place in deciding the fate of important educational programs. Again, I appreciate your holding this hearing Mr. Chairman, and look forward to working with you in investigating this decision.

NEWS
Congressman Stephen J. Solarz

13th District/Brooklyn, N.Y.
New York: (718) 372-8600
Washington: (202) 225-2361

STATEMENT OF HON. STEPHEN J. SOLARZ

TO THE GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE
ON HUMAN RESOURCES AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

OCTOBER 19, 1988

Chairman Weiss and members of the Subcommittee, I am grateful for the opportunity to testify before you this morning on the important issue of Holocaust related curricula in our nation's schools.

In my view, any discussion of this subject must begin with the premise that the Holocaust is the central existential fact in the history of human civilization. The systematic slaughter of six million men, women, and children -- for no other reason than that they were Jewish -- is a shocking indication of the depths of depravity to which the human spirit can sink.

My district is home to the largest community of Holocaust survivors in the country. These are courageous and inspiring people, who dragged themselves from the fires of the Nazi inferno to rebuild their communities and bring up their families in the United States. The tragedy which befell those who perished must never be forgotten. And the suffering which was endured by those who survived can and should be translated into lessons for ourselves and for our children.

For a number of years, I have been involved in efforts to introduce Holocaust related curricula to the public schools. As a member of the New York State Assembly in the early 1970s, I introduced legislation to add Holocaust studies to the State's education program. In my first two terms in Congress, I introduced bills to authorize the National Institute of Education to develop and distribute educational materials on the Holocaust to elementary and secondary schools. I am proud that my efforts helped convince the NIE in 1978 to include such materials in its Educational Research Information Center.

Over the last ten years, educational programs on the Holocaust have been instituted in tens of thousands of schools across the country. Among the most successful is "Facing History and Ourselves," whose difficulties with the Department of Education are the reason for this hearing. Originally established in Brookline, Massachusetts in 1976, "Facing History" was deemed "exemplary" by a Department of Education panel in 1980 and has since been distributed to some 30,000 teachers in nearly every state in the country.

In light of the clear success of its method and the profound importance of its message, I was saddened to learn that "Facing History" has been denied Federal funding for the past three years under the most unfortunate circumstances.

- OVER -

I first heard of the regrettable remarks attributed to National Diffusion Network review panelist Christina Price in August, 1987. At that time, it had been reported in the press that Ms. Price had said of "Facing History": "The program gives no evidence of balance or objectivity. The Nazi point of view, however unpopular, is still a point of view and is not presented, nor is that of the Ku Klux Klan." I have since learned that Ms. Price also wrote: "It is a paradoxical and strange aspect of this program and (sic) the methods used to change the thinking of students is the same that Hitler and Goebbels used to propagandize the German people."

In a letter of August 21, 1987, I told Secretary Bennett that review boards "must be staffed with competent experts and not irresponsible idealogues" and that "the Department of Education should ... do all that it can to promote rather than denigrate quality Holocaust related programs." Four months later, Secretary Bennett wrote to me that he was "appalled" by Price's remarks and that "Facing History" did not receive funding because it faced "stiff and worthy competition."

It is not clear, however, that this was the sole reason for denying grants to "Facing History." Recent press accounts have alleged that the program is harshly opposed by an extremely conservative ideological element within the Department. One senior Department official anonymously told the Washington Post that these rejections were orchestrated by "those on the extreme right wing of the Republican Party."

Mr. Chairman, when we speak of sustaining the lessons and legacies of the Holocaust, we are not speaking of a Republican or Democratic issue, but one of primary importance to all Americans. Just last week, while laying the cornerstone for the Holocaust Museum, President Reagan stated: "I think all of us here are aware of those, even among our own countrymen, who have dedicated themselves to the disgusting task of minimizing or even denying the truth of the Holocaust. This act of intellectual genocide must not go unchallenged."

Mr. Chairman, I commend you for not letting this incident go unchallenged. I urge you and the members of the Subcommittee to fully investigate the circumstances surrounding the denial of funding to "Facing History." And I urge all of my colleagues in the Congress to work together to ensure that the evils of the Holocaust are never forgotten.

Let us not forget the words of the noted philosopher George Santayana: "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

Thank you.

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